THE GROWTH OF FORT WAYNE INDUSTRY, 1815 to 1860

by

Jack Edward Weicker

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in the
Department of History,
Indiana University,
June, 1950

THE DRAMA OF BOYS STATE UNIVERSITY

1938 to 1960

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IN MEMORY OF MY GRANDFATHER

HENRY WEICKER

who found the good life

in

Allen County, Indiana

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Page

IV. INDUSTRIAL GROWTH, 1840-1850

Page

VI. THE INDUSTRIAL PICTURE IN 1860

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early history of the Mid-West is intimately tied up with a great system of natural waterways that provided excellent means of transportation for pioneer explorers and adventurers. Before the coming of the white man, the Indians had made extensive use of the great fluvial arteries of the Mississippi valley, and the earliest white explorers came by way of these same watery highways. Indeed, had it not been for this great network of rivers and the portages that lay between them, the exploration and development of the Mississippi valley area would have been greatly hindered.

The early history of Fort Wayne is a story of rivers and portages. The St. Joseph and St. Marys rivers join at Fort Wayne to form the Maumee river. From this point early explorers and traders could go up the St. Joseph river into Michigan and down the Maumee river to Lake Erie. They could go up the St. Marys river, cross a portage to the Great Miami river, and follow it down to the Ohio river. But undoubtedly the most important route as far as Fort Wayne was concerned was the seven-mile portage route between the Maumee river and the Little river, a tributary of the Wabash river. The Indians had made extensive use of this portage before the white man came. For the early French it provided an important link in the shortest water route between the St. Lawrence and

the Illinois Country.

There is no known written record that definitely establishes the first white man to visit this portage. One author speculates the first white visitor may have been a "simple, pious, yet zealous Jesuit, who came, in his mysterious robe, telling the story of the Cross."[1] It is feasible, although not likely, that Sieur de La Salle may have been among the first explorers to use this portage. In a letter written on November 9, 1680, he speaks of a river at the end of Lake Erie that provides the shortest route to the Illinois country, but definite proof is lacking that he ever used this route himself.[2] It is possible that the Indians had simply told him of such a route.

It is altogether likely that another portage of lesser importance provided the early French with their first access to the Wabash river. They occasionally reached the Wabash river in the earliest period by leaving Lake Michigan on the St. Joseph river of the Lake and then by portaging to the headwaters of a northern branch of the Wabash.[3]

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[1]DeWitt C. Goodrich and Charles R. Tuttle, An Illustrated History of the State of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1875), 336.

[2]Elbert J. Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, Maryland, 1883-), XXI (1903), 13.

[3]Ibid., 10-11.

It is interesting to note that of the five great portage routes used by the French, the Maumee-Wabash route was the last to come into general use.[4] The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the Iroquois of New York, who had succeeded in getting firearms from the Dutch prior to 1630, invaded the western country which is now Indiana and Illinois before 1657-58,[5] and the ferocity of their raids for several years made this portage route untenable for whites and Indians alike.[6] In 1682 Jean de Lamberville wrote to Count de Frontenac, then governor of Canada, expressing the fear that an Iroquois army of 1,200 would completely annihilate the Miamis and their neighbors the Siskakon [Kiskakon] and Ottawa tribes on the headwaters of the Maumee.[7] Near the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Iroquois raids began to subside,[8] and by 1700 or shortly thereafter the Miamis

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[4]Narrative and Critical History of America, ed. Justin Winsor (8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889), IV, pt. I (1884), n. 1, 224.

[5]Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (73 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1901), LV (1899), 203-207; Logan Esarey, A History of Indiana (2nd edn., 2 vols., Indianapolis, 1918), I, 13.

[6]Jesuit Relations, XLIV (1899), 247; Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 13.

[7]Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 14.

[8]For reasons See Jacob P. Dunn, Indiana and Indianans (5 vols., Chicago, 1919), I, 58-59.

were back on their old hunting grounds in northeastern Indiana and western Ohio.[9] Their most famous village, Kekionga, was located at the site of Fort Wayne, and became the chief center of the Miami proper.[10]

> Kekionga was, to the patriotic Miami, the dearest of all places in his broad domain. There was an eloquence in the scenery around the place that won high admiration in the savage heart. To the simple Indian mind there was something supernatural, something unspeakably grand, in the quiet of this fertile valley. It was here that they buried their illustrious dead. It was in this valley, and particularly at the head of the Maumee, where all their important ceremonies were commemorated. Returning from the chase, these Indians would assemble in the beautiful groves along the banks of these rivers [St. Marys, St. Joseph, and Maumee], and pass the time in their usual sports.[11]

In the early part of the eighteenth century the only white people in what is now Indiana were the roving fur-traders, called coureurs de bois, and the Jesuit Missionaries.[12] As the fur trade began to expand, the need for a trading post at Kekionga became apparent.

It is difficult to find agreement on the exact year when such a post was first established at the site of Fort Wayne. Colonel R. S. Robertson is certain that there was a fur-trading "post" here shortly after 1672 and that by 1697 the post was under the command of

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[9]Dunn, Indiana and Indianans, I, 107.

[10]Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. Frederick W. Hodge (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30, 1907), I, 853; Bert J. Griswold, The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana (2 vols., Chicago, 1917), I, 36.

[11]Goodrich and Tuttle, Illustrated History of Indiana, 336.

[12]Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 11-12.

Jean Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes.[13] Louise P. Kellogg, on the other hand, seems to date the first post as late as 1715. She says:

> The same year [1715] that Mackinac was regarrisoned, a post was built on the Maumee River for the Miami tribesmen, who made headquarters at this village [Fort Wayne] and were kept in submission by their long-time trader Sieur de Vincennes.[14]

Certain it is that by 1715 Sieur de Vincennes, like other far-sighted Frenchmen, was beginning to worry about the menace to the French fur trade created by English fur traders and adventurers who had begun their infiltration into the West.[15] Shortly before his death he conceived the idea of removing the Miami Indians further north and west to the present site of South Bend on the St. Joseph river of Lake Michigan, there to defend French control of the Miamis by force of arms if necessary. This grand scheme failed because of his death at Post Miami [Fort Wayne] in 1719.[16]

The first fort constructed on the site of Fort Wayne was apparently built in May, 1722. In October of that year, Governor de Vandreuil wrote a letter to the Council

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[13]R.S. Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River (2 vols., Madison, Wisconsin, 1889), I, 48.

[14]Louise P. Kellogg, The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest (Madison, Wisconsin, 1925), 291-292.

[15]For an excellent discussion of early British movements into the West, See Ibid., 407 et seq.

[16]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 37-38.

of Marine in which he takes credit for sending Captain M. de Buisson to establish a post among the Miami and he goes on to state that a log fort was constructed in May at this post, the finest fort in the upper country.[17]

The first fierce savage outbreak against French control in the Mid-West came in 1747 with the revolt of the Hurons under Chief Sanosket, known also as Nicolas. Several Frenchmen were murdered and the emissaries of Nicolas induced the Miamis to join the revolt and burn Post Miami by telling them that Detroit had already fallen to the Indians. Learning that they had been deceived, the Miami threw themselves at the mercy of the French. Dubuisson was sent with thirty men to garrison the partly destroyed post. Thirty men were also sent to Ouitanon at this time. In the spring of 1748, Dubuisson returned to Detroit and left Post Miami in charge of Captain M. de Raimond.[18]

It was about this time that Sieur de Vincennes' earlier fears concerning the Miami were amply borne out by the activities of La Demoiselle or Old Britain and his Miami tribesmen who were enjoying trade with the British at Pickawillany [present site of Piqua, Ohio].[19]

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[17]Pierre-Georges Roy, "Sieur de Vincennes Identified," Indiana Historical Society Publications (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1895-), VII (1923), 82-83.

[18]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 42-44.

[19]Kellogg, The French Regime, 413.

In 1749 Pierre Joseph Sieur de Celoron moved down the Ohio river with a small force of French and Indians on his famous plate-planting expedition. This military force, designed to warn the English and to strengthen French control over the Indians, returned by way of Post Miami. Bonnecamp, a priest with the expedition, describes the post as it appeared in that year.

> The fort of the Miamis was in very bad condition when we reached it; most of the palisades were decayed and fallen into ruins. Within there were eight houses, --or, to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render endurable. The French there numbered 22; all of them, even the commandant, Raimond, had fever.[20]

This old fort on the right bank of the St. Marys was abandoned in the spring of 1750 after a new fort had been constructed on the St. Joseph river at the present site of the junction of St. Joseph Boulevard and Delaware Avenue. This was the last French fort.[21]

The penetration of the English into the Mid-West was temporarily stopped when French forces under Langlade destroyed Pickawillany in 1752.[22] This French success was short-lived, however; for as a result of the French and Indian War, France ceded her lands east of the

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[20]Jesuit Relations, LXIX (1900), 189.

[21]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 47.

[22]Kellogg, The French Regime, 420, 422.

Mississippi to England. It was during this struggle, in December, 1760, that Post Miami was surrendered to Lieutenant Robert Butler and his twenty rangers.[23]

Within three years the Indians rose up against the English under the direction of Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, and simultaneously laid siege to the forts of the West. Ensign James Holmes, British commander at Post Miami was tricked into leaving the fort by a young squaw and was slain on May 27, 1763. On the same day the fort surrendered and all but one of the prisoners were killed.[24]

The garrison was not restored thereafter by the English, but traders continued to use this site as a place of operations and French habitants still resided there.[25] For the next thirty-one years the region around the head of the Maumee continued to be the rendezvous of a lawless and defiant mixture of Indians, English traders, and French engages. Several families chose this spot as a permanent abode and established a considerable settlement, Miami Town [Miamitown].[26] The Maumee-Wabash portage

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[23]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 55-56.

[24]Francis Parkman, The Conspiracy of Pontiac (2 vols., Boston, 1898), I, 288-289; Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 37-38.

[25]M. M. Quaife, "Fort Wayne in 1790," Indiana Historical Society Publications (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1895-), VII (1923), 301.

[26]Bert J. Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West 1802-1813, Indiana Historical Collections (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1916-), XV (1927), 5.

became of such importance in this period that carts were regularly employed to transport boats and merchandise from the Maumee to the Wabash.[27]

During the Revolutionary War the British used this portage route in various military movements back and forth between Detroit and Vincennes. It was across this portage that Governor Hamilton moved from Detroit to recapture Vincennes in 1778.[28] In 1780, La Balme, who had come to this country in 1779 as an officer in the French troops under Lafayette, captured Miami Town by this same route, only to have his military expedition completely wiped out by the Indians under Little Turtle.[29]

Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War Virginia ceded her land claims to the central government, and the land later included in the Northwest Territory became a part of the United States. It is important to note that most of the land ceded by Great Britain to the United States government at the close of the war was still claimed by the various Indian tribes. The central government next inaugurated a policy of making treaties with the Indians designed to give her legal title to these Western lands.[30] These various treaties,

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[27]Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 31.

[28]Robertson, The Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 69.

[29]Ibid., 70-71.

[30]Burke A. Hinsdale, The Old Northwest (New York, 1888), 256-257.

though succeeding in legally opening up land for settlement, bred ill will among the Indians. The British, who still held Detroit and other posts of the West, did all they could to encourage Indian resentment. The Indians, in turn, relying upon the British for material means of support, waged bloody warfare upon the Americans of the frontier in the vain hope of stemming the tide of immigration before it should completely inundate the territory northwest of the Ohio river.[31]

The revengeful spirit of the Indians by 1790 is clearly depicted in the journal of Henry Hay, son of Major Hay who was captured with General Hamilton at Vincennes by George Rogers Clark. This journal gives an intimate view of life at Miami Town in 1789-90 and portrays clearly the brutality of the Indians at that time.[32] Tradition has it that a secret society of Miami warriors met at set intervals at the site of Fort Wayne and included in their ritual of festivities the burning of at least one captive and the eating of his flesh.[33]

On September 30, 1890, General Harmar, under the authorization of George Washington, touched off a

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[31]M. M. Quaife, "Fort Wayne in 1790" in Indiana Historical Society Publications, VII, 295.

[32]For the text of Henry Hay's journal, See Ibid., 303-361.

[33]Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 114; Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 8.

five-year period of warfare on behalf of the United States government designed to reduce the Indian tribesmen. By October 15, 1790, his army, numbering 1,453 men, reached the Maumee towns only to find them deserted.[34] After destroying a large amount of crops in and around Miami Town on October 20th and 21st, General Harmar gave Colonel Hardin permission to go back to the village with a detachment of militia. Colonel Hardin's singular defeat at the hands of Little Turtle and the fact that Harmar's supplies were running low doomed his expedition to failure, and he betook himself out of the Indian country.[35]

The next major attempt to subdue the Indians was made by a force under Major General Arthur St. Clair which started northward from Fort Washington in the early part of September, 1791. It is hardly worthwhile "to follow the details of this misguided, mismated, misordered, misdirected affair."[36] On their way to Miami Town, General St. Clair's forces were cut to pieces by Little Turtle's men. This defeat took place on November 4th at the site where Wayne later built Fort Recovery.[37]

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[34] Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 122.

[35] Dunn, Indiana and Indianans, I, 205.

[36] Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 131.

[37] Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 90-91; Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 10; for St. Clair's report, See American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 137-138.

Washington next chose Major General Anthony Wayne to attempt success where Harmar and St. Clair had failed. After a period of intensive drilling, Wayne led his "Legion" northward from Fort Washington to Fort Greenville in the fall of 1793. After having built Fort Recovery and Fort Defiance, General Wayne, on August 20, 1794, in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, dealth the death blow to the Miami Confederacy.[38]

General Wayne arrived at Miami Town at five o'clock on the afternoon of September 17, 1794. By October 22nd he and his men had constructed a fort which Colonel John F. HamTramck, first commandant of the post, had the honor of naming Fort Wayne.[39] General Wayne then withdrew to Fort Greenville where on August 10, 1795, the famous Treaty of Greenville was signed. Among the stipulations was one giving ownership to the United States of a piece of land six miles square "at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where fort Wayne now stands, or near it."[40]

During the succeeding years Fort Wayne was garrisoned by one company of infantry which, though varying in total

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[38]Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 10-13; Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 137-139.

[39]Wallace A. Brice, History of Fort Wayne (Fort Wayne, 1868), 152-154; Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 140.

[40]Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778-1837, Compiled and Printed by The Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington, D. C., 1837), 55.

strength, was made up usually of one captain, one surgeon's mate, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, several musicians, and thirty-five to fifty privates. Some of the soldiers' wives also lived within the walls of the fort.[41] The fort was rebuilt by Colonel Thomas Hunt in 1800 on a spot about three hundred feet north of Wayne's original stockade.[42]

The United States government was represented in Fort Wayne by an Indian factory and an Indian agency as well as by the garrison of the fort. William Wells was Indian agent with some interruptions from 1799 to 1809; John Johnson was appointed Indian factor in 1802 and conducted the government trading house. Under the latter's management, large amounts of supplies were received, stored and disposed of, principally to the Indians. The Indian agency was continued at Fort Wayne until it was moved to Logansport in 1828 by Colonel John Tipton.[43]

During the War of 1812 the Indians, once again goaded by the English, broke into savage warfare on the frontier. Fort Wayne, with a garrison of forty men under Captain James Rhea, was besieged on September 5, 1812. The

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[41] Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 18.

[42] Ibid., 18.

[43] Ibid., 19-20.

siege was lifted after seven days by General Harrison with a force of 2,000 men. Harrison proceeded to destroy Indian houses and crops in the vicinity.[44] Robert Breckinridge McAfee, at that time a captain with the Kentucky volunteers, part of Harrison's army, described Fort Wayne as being

> ...delightfully situated on an eminence on the south bank of the Miami of the Lake (Maumee), immediately below the formation of that river by the junction of the St. Marys from the southwest with the St. Josephs from the north. It is well constructed of block houses and picketing, ...[45]

After severe fighting all along the frontier, an armistice was signed at Detroit, October 14, 1813, between General Harrison and the assembled tribes. The Second Treaty of Greenville, July 8, 1814, at least officially brought an end to the hostility between whites and Indians in the Northwest.[46]

In 1814 the command of Fort Wayne was taken over by Major John Whistler of the United States Infantry, grandfather of James Abbott McNeill Whistler, the artist. During the fall of 1815 the fort was rebuilt under Major Whistler's supervision.[47]

It was during this period that some of the important

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[44]Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 217-218; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 132 et seq.

[45]Robert B. McAfee, History of the Late War in the Western Country (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919), 144.

[46]Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 229.

[47]Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 74-76.

families of Fort Wayne first made their appearance. As far as the present study is concerned, the family of Louis Bourie is of primary importance. Louis Bourie had been employed in Fort Wayne as a trader with the Pottawattomie in 1800. He next transferred his business to the portage between the Maumee and Wabash rivers, and for six years he kept pack horses and maintained a warehouse for the deposit and transportation of merchandise and furs. This trade, however, was ruined by the Indian hostilities preceding the War of 1812, and he and his wife moved to Detroit. They were back in 1814, and in that year Bourie was given a contract to provide bread for the soldiers at the fort. He erected a bakery at the corner of present Clinton and Columbia streets and employed a French baker. Before his death in 1816, Bourie established a store and erected a log residence adjoining the bakery.[48]

About the time Bourie began operating his bakery, Fort Wayne's first blacksmith shop was set up in the fort by a Frenchman named Louisanau. Louisanau also operated under government contract.[49]

It is likely that Bourie's small bakery and Louisanau's blacksmith shop were the first beginnings of real industry

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[48]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 226-228.

[49]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113.

in Fort Wayne. It is important to remember that the life of the settlement was still dependent upon the military protection of the fort, and it is interesting to note that these earliest forms of meager industry were also dependent upon the fort and were products of it.

By 1815 the exploits of the early explorers, the echoing songs of the coureurs de bois, the heroic struggles for empire fade forever and forever. Nevertheless, the events of this early period clearly pointed out the strategic significance of the headwaters of the Maumee in transportation and communication. The fact that Fort Wayne was located at an easily accessible point would continue to shape important historical events during the half century following 1815---events that would hush the sounds of the forest and replace them with the whirring noise of the wheels of industry.

CHAPTER II

PIONEER INDUSTRY, 1815-1840

The rise of industry in Fort Wayne between 1815 and 1840 was an extremely slow process at the beginning of the period, but one which had gained considerable momentum as the period drew to a close. The slowness of industrial growth following 1815 is exactly what might be expected. It is logical to assume that industry does not exist in a vacuum; there must be a demand for industrial products or services before industry can gain a foothold. It is equally logical to assume that this demand for the products and services of industry must of necessity increase if industry is to continue to grow; demand for industrial products and services and the growth of industry must go hand in hand.

If one attempts to analyze the demand for industrial products and services that existed in Fort Wayne and vicinity in the years following 1815, he is immediately brought face to face with the fact that, for the most part, this demand was purely local in origin. The day of producing for a distant market had not yet arrived in the Mid-West as far as industry was concerned. The vast system of internal improvements that would some day make such distant marketing possible still lay beyond the horizon in 1815.

The growth of industry in Fort Wayne from 1815 to 1840 becomes the story of the growth of population in Fort Wayne and its vicinity during this twenty-five year period. Increasing population mirrored itself in increasing industrial development, the former being the father or the latter. It is the purpose of this present chapter to show how various events and developments in this period led to an influx of population, and how, in turn, industrial development kept pace with the changing life of the pioneer village at Fort Wayne.

When Indiana became a state in 1816, at least most of the land lying within the present state boundaries still belonged to the Indians.[1] As has previously been pointed out, the Treaty of Greenville gave a piece of land six miles square at Fort Wayne to the federal government,[2] but this concession was of only slight importance in opening up the territory of the vicinity for farms and settlement. Around 1812, however, the Miami Indians had begun to sell their lands to the United States. On October 16, 1818, the memorable Treaty of St. Marys was concluded at St. Marys, Ohio. This treaty gave the United States legal title to much of the land near Fort Wayne.[3]

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[1] Esarey, A History of Indiana, I, 230.

[2] See supra, 12.

[3] Treaties Between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778-1837, p. 257.

By 1827 the Miami had relinquished most of their lands in Indiana, and on November 28, 1840, at Forks of the Wabash, they gave up their title to all of their remaining lands in Indiana and agreed to remove west of the Mississippi where land had been assigned to them.[4]

The relations between whites and Indians in the vicinity of Fort Wayne had definitely improved by 1819. This is evidenced in the fact that on April 19th of that year the fort was forever abandoned as a military outpost of the federal government. On that day, Major J. N. Vose, one post surgeon, two captains, one first lieutenant, five sergeants, four corporals, four musicians, and seventy-five artillerymen and privates---ninety-six men in all---embarked from Fort Wayne in pirogues for Detroit by way of the Maumee.[5]

Captain James Riley, a civil engineer, was sent to Fort Wayne in November, 1919, by the federal government to survey the land about the fort belonging to the United States preparatory to the sale of a portion of the military reservation to the settlers.[6] Captain Riley's letter to the editor of the Philadelphia Union, dated November 24,

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[4]Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 853-854.

[5]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 240; Brice, History of Fort Wayne, 287.

[6]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 241; Brice, History of Fort Wayne, 288.

1819, describes Fort Wayne and vicinity at that time.

> The country around Fort Wayne is very fertile; the situation is commanding and healthy, and here will rise a town of great importance, which must become an immense depot.
>
> The Fort is now only a small stockade; no troops are stationed here and less than thirty dwelling houses, occupied by French and American families, form the whole settlement, but as soon as the land shall be surveyed and offered for sale, inhabitants will pour from all quarters into this future thoroughfare, between New York and the Mississippi, ...[7]

Although the sale of public lands foreseen by Captain Riley did not take place until nearly four years later, hardy pioneers continued to fine their way to Fort Wayne in the years between 1819 and 1823. Foremost among these was Samuel Hanna, pioneer merchant, judge, legislator, canal builder, railroad builder, and leader of civic improvement in Fort Wayne and throughout the state, who came to the infant village in 1819 from Ohio. He immediately began a mercantile business in a log cabin at the present northwest corner of Columbia and Barr streets in partnership with his brother-in-law, James Barnett. At this early period they traded mostly with the Indians. The goods that they offered for sale were purchased, for the most part, in New York or Boston, and brought up the Maumee in pirogues or packed

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[7] Indiana Gazette, Corydon, March 2, 1820, 1-2, quoted in Harlow Lindley, ed., Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers (Published by the Indiana Historical Commission, Indianapolis, 1916), 243.

from Detroit on horses.[8]

In 1820 there was a temporary influx of population to Fort Wayne attracted there by the Indian trade. Captain Riley's letter of November 20, 1820, to Edward Tiffin, Surveyor General, pointed out that a thousand whites, mostly from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and New York, were congregated at Fort Wayne to carry on trade with the Indians. Captain Riley deplored the use of liquor in this trade and added that the best way to remedy this disgraceful situation was "the speedy survey and marketing of the land along the Maumee and Wabash, and encouragement for its occupancy by farmers."[9]

It was also in 1820 that the Reverend and Mrs. Isaac McCoy and their family came to Fort Wayne. The Reverend McCoy was the first Protestant missionary to the Indians and the founder of the settlement's first school. The family was sent to Fort Wayne by a Baptist missionary convention. The Reverend McCoy's observations of Fort Wayne at that time give some indication of the permanent population of the village and vicinity in 1820. He stated that there was at Fort Wayne

> ...a little village of traders, and of persons in the employ of the Government, as interpreters, smiths, etc., some of them were French, of Canadian and Indian descent.

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[8] G. W. Wood, Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna (Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1869), 8-9, 12; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 242-243.

[9] Parts of this letter are quoted in Charles E. Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1905), I, 546-547.

The nearest settlements of white people were in the state of Ohio, and nearly one hundred miles distant.[10]

The Reverend McCoy also described the hardships connected with the pioneer life of the village.

> At Fort Wayne (in 1820) the necessities of life were dear; our flour and meal had to be hauled in wagons about one hundred miles, and most of that through a wilderness and over a bad road. Corn, which in white settlements seldom sold for more than twenty-five cents per bushel, here cost one dollar and a half, and two dollars.[11]

On June 17, 1820, the Reverend McCoy set out for supplies in Ohio. He purchased a two-horse wagon, a spinning wheel and raw materials for spinning.[12] On March 8, 1822, a loom was put into operation at the school, and the scholars began to make cloth, "which from first to last was manufactured at the establishment, the yarn having been spun by our Indian girls."[13] Although this "manufacturing" of cloth at the mission school does not fall clearly into the category of industry, the fact that workers were engaged in the process other than the Reverend McCoy's family might raise this activity to a quasi-industrial status. Perhaps some of the cloth was sold to the Indian tribesmen. Later in 1822 the Reverend McCoy removed his family and school to the St. Joseph

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[10] Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions (Washington, 1840), 75.

[11] Ibid., 78.

[12] Ibid., 78.

[13] Ibid., 129.

river of Lake Michigan, near the present city of Niles, Michigan.[14]

In 1821 Alexis Coquillard opened a store for trading with the Indians. William G. and George W. Ewing also began trade at Fort Wayne in 1822 and remained prominent dealers with the Indians for many years, extending their trade among other tribes besides the Miamis.[15]

The fur trade for several years continued to be the main activity at Fort Wayne. The houses of the village were of mean appearance, made of logs, "rudely put up, the roofs being made of clap boards kept down by logs." There was little incentive to make expensive improvements upon land that could not be bought or sold.[16] Such men as Samuel Hanna, James Barnett, Alexis Coquillard, and the Ewings at this time were squatters.

Major Stephen H. Long, in describing the town as it appeared in 1823, said:

> The town or village is small;.... The village is exclusively supported by the fur trade, and will probably continue to thrive as long as the Indians remain in any number in the vicinity. ...The furs brought here consist principally of deer and racoon skins; bear, otter and beaver, have become very rare.[17]

Although the fur trade at this date did not constitute

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[14] Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, 172, 177.

[15] Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin, I, 547-548.

[16] William H. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the source of the St. Peter's River, Etc. (Compiled from the notes of Major Long, Messrs. Say, Keating, and Calhoun, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1824), I, 84.

[17] Ibid., 79-80.

a clear-out form of industry, there was one operation carried on at Fort Wayne in connection with the fur trade that was of real importance to the process of manufacturing the raw furs of the West into the finished product of the East. When the furs were brought to Fort Wayne by the Indians they were loosely tied in bundles or rolled. Before the furs could be shipped they had to be separated, folded, and made into packs. These packs, three feet long and eighteen inches wide, usually contained from forty to fifty deer skins and about two hundred racoon skins. Once the separating and folding was accomplished, these bundles of furs were subjected to heavy pressure under a wedge press. Only after this process was completed could the harvest of furs be shipped down the Maumee to Lake Erie, and from there to Detroit where they were, for the most part, purchased by the American Fur Company. About two hundred packs were thus processed each year at Fort Wayne, the annual value of these furs being in the neighborhood of ten thousand dollars.[18]

Another early form of industry in Fort Wayne was also dependent upon the Indian trade. In 1826, Jean Baptiste Bequette, a French silversmith, started a manufactory of jewelry and "ear-bobs for Miami belles,"

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[18] Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the source of the St. Peter's River, Etc., I, 81.

in which he employed at times as many as forty persons.[19] These trinkets were sold to the traders for use in the Indian trade, and Bequette later manufactured trinkets for traders all over the West until the time of his death in 1846.[20]

In 1823, the first sale of public lands occurred at Fort Wayne. Previously, on May 8, 1822, Congress had established a land office at Fort Wayne to sell the lands that had recently been acquired from the Indians by the Treaty of St. Marys and other treaties.[21] These lands were soon surveyed, and after the necessary proclamation had been issued, the land office was opened for the sale of lands to the highest bidder, with a minimum price of $1.25 per acre, on October 22, 1823. The officers of the land office, located in the old fort, were Joseph Holman of Wayne County, receiver of Public moneys, and Samuel C. Vance of Dearborn County, register. At this first sale, John T. Barr of Baltimore, Maryland, and John McCorkle of Piqua, Ohio, became the purchasers of that portion of land comprising the original plat of Fort Wayne. Barr and McCorkle reserved suitable lots for church, school, and burial purposes, to be donated when

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[19]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 258; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 40.

[20]Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 40.

[21]United States Statutes at Large, III, 701; Brice, History of Fort Wayne, 293.

needed. Samuel Hanna subsequently became the purchaser of the interests of Barr and McCorkle.[22]

The sale of lands did not immediately affect the population in northern Indiana. In 1823, after the division of the state into two congressional districts, there were but fifty votes polled in the northern district.[23]

Notwithstanding the sparcity of population, the General Assembly of Indiana on December 17, 1823, approved the formation of Allen County out of the counties of Randolph and Delaware.[24] When Indiana was created in 1816, the land included in present-day Allen County was a part of Knox County and all judicial affairs of this vicinity were transacted at Vincennes until 1818. From 1818 until 1823 this territory was attached to Randolph County with Winchester as the county seat.[25]

In section three of the act forming Allen County, Lot Bloomfield and Caleb Lewis, of Wayne County, Abiathar Hathaway, of Fayette County, William Conner, of Hamilton County, and James M. Ray, of Marion County were appointed

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[22] H. S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley Commencing With its Occupation by the French in 1680 (edn. for 1876, Toledo, Ohio, 1872), 378-379; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 199.

[23] Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin, I, 550.

[24] The Revised Laws of Indiana, 1823-1824 (Corydon, Indiana, 1824), 109.

[25] Brice, History of Fort Wayne, 290.

to fix the county seat of Allen County.[26] The commissioners chose Fort Wayne as the seat of government, and on May 22, 1824, elections were held for the county offices. Anthony L. Davis became clerk; Allen Hamilton, sheriff; and Samuel Hanna and Benjamin Cushman, associate justices. Samuel Hanna was also road supervisor for Wayne Township, which was soon to embrace the entire county.[27]

The first county commissioners of Allen County were William Rockhill, Frances Comparet, and James Wyman.[28] One of the duties of the county commissioners was to see to the building of pioneer roads that would link the village more closely to the slowly increasing population in the territory surrounding Fort Wayne. Petitions "praying" that the commissioners would authorize a certain road came to these county officials at regular intervals after the formation of the county.[29] Such petitions provide concrete evidence that settlers were moving into the county and that they were settling in all directions from Fort Wayne.

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[26] The Revised Laws of Indiana, 1823-1824, 109.

[27] Brice, History of Fort Wayne, 297.

[28] Commissioners Record A, Allen County, Indiana, 1-2 (This record is in the Auditor's office in the Allen County Court House, Fort Wayne, Indian).

[29] Ibid., 6 et seq.

Nevertheless, the amount of taxables in Allen County in this early period was not great. William G. Ewing, Allen County Treasurer, in a report given in 1825, stated that the total amount of receipts since July 6, 1824, amounted to $209.68 a 3/4 cents. The balance in the treasury was given at $283.31½. In 1828 the balance in the treasury had risen to $543.97, and in 1831, $1,388.08.[30]

By the close of 1824 the stage had been set for the further growth of industry in Fort Wayne. Settlers of all kinds, including business men, skilled craftsmen, and farmers, could now buy land and own homes and places of business. Furthermore, a county government was now organized to offer protection and governmental services. As the inevitable result, the population of Fort Wayne and vicinity slowly increased, and as the population grew the demand for industrial products and services became more pronounced.

Late in 1824 or early in 1825, Benjamin Archer, pioneer brickmaker and head of the Archer family, came to Fort Wayne. Archer was responsible for one of the early industrial enterprises located near the village. He entered immediately upon the manufacture of brick north of town, and it was from the product of his yards

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[30]Commissioners Record A, 55-57, 97, 161.

that the first brick buildings in Fort Wayne were constructed. Archer and family had come from Philadelphia by way of Dayton, Ohio. This early brick yard supplied the demands of the town until 1830.[31]

With the spirit of progress that typified their movements in many directions, Samuel Hanna and James Barnett erected in 1827 the first gristmill near Fort Wayne. The importance of this pioneer enterprise is immediately apparent when one realizes that before the erection of this mill, all meal, flour, and cracked corn had to be brought through the wilderness from Ohio, a situation that made such foodstuffs highly expensive. The mill was powered by water and stood on the left bank of the St. Marys river, a short distance south of the Oakdale bridge, in what is now Foster Park. This mill was later sold to Louis H. Davis, who was succeeded by Asa Fairfield and S. C. Freeman. The original mill continued to operate under various owners until it was destroyed by fire on February 27, 1878. A new mill was then constructed of brick, but like its predecessor was destroyed by fire on May 15, 1888.[32]

Other enterprises established in the period between

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[31]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 273.

[32]Roy M. Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," Old Fort News (Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1936-), VII, No. 1 (February, 1942), 18-19.

1827 and 1830 included the tannery started in 1828 by Absalom Holcomb and Isaac Marquis at the west end of Columbia street, where the Randall hotel now stands; the blacksmith shop of John Cock and his brother Philip, also in 1828; the blacksmith shop of Halloway Cushman, on the south side of Berry street, east of Calhoun street; the cooper shop of Madore Truckey; and in 1829, the bakery established by Rue and Crane at the northeast corner of Berry and Clinton streets.[33]

The citizens of Fort Wayne on September 7, 1829, voted to incorporate the town. Fort Wayne continued as a town corporation until 1840.[34] In 1825 the population of permanent settlers in Fort Wayne had risen to nearly 200.[35] By 1828 the population of the village was estimated at 500 citizens, and in 1830. 800.[36]

That Fort Wayne was doing a thriving business as a county seat town at this time is indicated by the fact that in 1831, Zenes Henderson and Company were given a

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[33]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 286-287; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 187, 193.

[34]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 288; For act permitting Fort Wayne to become a city, See Local Laws of the State of Indiana, 1839-1840 (Indianapolis, 1840), pp. 16-31.

[35]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 277.

[36]Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin, I, 551.

license to operate a ferry across the St. Marys river. The license fee for the operation of this ferry was set by the board of justices at $1.00 per year. Henderson and Company were authorized to "keep a Ferry across the Saint Marys River, at the crossing of the old Fords where the County road crosses leading to Pidgeon prarie (sic.) in Michigan Territory...." Footmen were to be charged 6¼ cents; hog or sheep, 3 cents; oxen, 25 cents; wagon and two or more horses, 50 cents. No other ferry could be situated within one mile above or below unless deemed necessary for the public convenience.[37]

Undoubtedly the greatest stimulus to the growth of population in Allen County previous to 1850, and therefore the greatest stimulus to industrial growth, was the Wabash-Erie Canal. For many years men had dreamed of a canal to unite the Maumee and Wabash rivers---a canal that would eliminate the overland haul. After McAfee had visited Fort Wayne in 1812, he wrote:

> The Miami (Maumee) is navigable for boats from this place (Fort Wayne) to the Lake (Erie), and the portage to the nearest navigable branch of the Wabash, is but seven or eight miles, through a level marshy prairie, from which the water runs both to the Wabash and St. Marys. A canal at some future day will unite these rivers, and thus render a town at Fort Wayne, as formerly, the most considerable place in all that country.[38]

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[37] Commissioners Record A, 147.

[38] McAfee, History of the Late War in the Western Country, 144-145.

Congress, on May 26, 1824, had passed "An Act to authorize the state of Indiana to open a canal through the public lands, to connect the navigation of the rivers Wabash and the Miami of Lake Erie."[39]

The success of the Erie Canal greatly stimulated canal building and touched off a period of extensive internal improvements and canal building in the Middle-West. In 1827 the United States gave to Indiana a grant of land equal to one-half of five sections in width in alternate sections on each side of the proposed canal.[40] After much debate, Indiana accepted the grant from Congress on January 5, 1828, and work was to begin on the canal immediately.[41] The first land sales from this grant took place at Logansport, in October, 1830, and at Fort Wayne in October, 1832.[42]

Work on the canal was officially begun at Fort Wayne on George Washington's birthday, February 22, 1832. Judge Hanna was among those who helped break the ground to start officially that momentous undertaking. A little over two years later, on July 4, 1834, the first canal

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[39] United States Statutes at Large, IV, 47; Annals of Congress, 18 Cong., 1 Sess., II, Appendix, 3252-3253.

[40] United States Statutes at Large, IV, 236.

[41] Laws of the State of Indiana, 1827-1828, p. 10.

[42] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, Indiana (Chicago, 1880), 57.

boat ride was taken at Fort Wayne on the feeder canal which ran from the town to the site of Robinson park.[43]

The general work on the canal was slow and was greatly hampered by floods; but, nevertheless, work progressed, and in July, 1843, the Wabash-Erie Canal was opened from Lafayette to Toledo. Apparently its longest period of interrupted use was 261 days in 1850.[44] People were greatly thrilled by the packet boats that flew along at eight miles per hour. By the middle Fifties, however, the canal began to feel the competition of the railroads, and from that time on its story was one of gradual decline. The Wabash-Erie Canal was finally sold on February 12, 1876, and the glorious bubble had burst.[45]

The canal "boom" gave a great impetus to the growth of Fort Wayne and vicinity. Allen County as a separate unit was first included in the federal census of 1830. At that time it had a population of approximately 1,000. There were 5,942 persons living in Allen County when the sixth census was taken in 1840, an increase of 494 per cent in the ten-year period.[46] Approximately 1,200 of

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[43] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 304-308.

[44] Logan Esarey, Internal Improvements in Early Indiana, Indiana Historical Society Publications (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1895-), V, No. 2 (1912), p. 147.

[45] Ibid., 153.

[46] Statistical View of the United States being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C., 1854), p. 224.

this number were living in Fort Wayne.[47]

This increase in population is also evident in the land sales of the period. In 1832, Colonel John Spencer succeeded Jonathan McCarthy as receiver of the government land office at Fort Wayne, a position he held until 1837. During the year 1832, 59,227.78 acres were sold at the Fort Wayne land office.[48] In 1836, under the impulse of the canal craze, the land office at Fort Wayne did more than twice as much business as any of the other five land offices in the state. In that year, 1,294,357 acres were bought at the Fort Wayne office. This land was valued at $1,620,617.34.[49]

The ten-year period from 1830 to 1840 also saw a considerable rise in the industrial interests of Fort Wayne. The great increase in population in the town and in the county was clearly mirrored in the establishment of many diversified types of industrial enterprises.

In 1830 Henry Rudisill and Henry Johns established an overshot gristmill on the St. Joseph river opposite the present-day Indiana Service Corporation. A dam was

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[47] Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin, I, 551.

[48] Senate Documents, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 9 (serial no. 238), 62.

[49] House Executive Documents, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 23 (serial no. 322), 11.

constructed across the river at this point. For many years this mill served a large territory. The ruins of the mill stood until 1910.[50]

On the 6th of July, 1833, the first edition of Fort Wayne's first newspaper, the Fort Wayne Sentinel, went to press under the editorship of S. V. B. Noel and Thomas Tigar. The ads in this paper give some indication of the strides that were being made in industrial growth. From the advertisments in the Sentinel issue of Saturday, June 14, 1834, one learns: David Coles was wanting to sell his mill on the Maumee; John B. Dubois and John Edsall were dissolving partnership in the tailoring business; F. P. Tinkham, F. R. Ebbert, and J. Rhinehart were operating as cabinetmakers; Henry Work and Isaac Cron were tanners, hide-buyers, and shoemakers; Samuel Edsall was a carpenter and joiner; Comparet and Coquillard were brewers of "good strong beer"; and that A. M. Hurd was proprietor of the St. Joseph Iron Works, a company that manufactured tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware.[51]

Among those who came to Fort Wayne in 1834 was Maurice Cody, who for twenty years engaged in the milling business; Jacob Fry, of Pennsylvania, who established a

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[50] Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 15-16.

[51] Quoted in Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 310.

tannery and conducted the business in partnership with Henry, David, and Robert Work; James Humphrey, who established a marble works near the canal; and Oliver Fairfield, who engaged in the bakery business.[52]

About 1834 the first gunsmith shop was established by a man by the name of Mosean, who was also a bellmaker on Berry street. Next door was the frame house of John Majors, a millwright by occupation. In this same year Squire Rockhill built the first sawmill of the area, and apparently later in the same year, one was constructed by Anthony Davis, Abel Beeson, Mr. Douglass, and Peter Duprez.[53]

In 1835 Peter Kiser kept a butcher shop, and Henry Engle had a brewery on the north side of Wayne street between Calhoun and Clinton streets. Patrick Ryan was a shoemaker; Cyrus Fairfield kept a blacksmith shop on Main street at the corner of Clay.[54] In the same year Benjamin Archer built the first steam sawmill in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. The boiler was brought from Dayton, Ohio, on a wagon pulled by eight yoke of oxen.[55] It was also in 1835 that the Fort Wayne Branch of the

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[52]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 319-320.

[53]Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, I, 194-195.

[54]Ibid., 193-194, 196.

[55]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 331.

State Bank was established with Hugh McCulloch, later Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln, as the cashier.[56]

John Cockrane came to Fort Wayne in 1836 and built the first planing mill; and in the same year, William Rockhill built the first distillery on the north bank of the canal. Henry Sharp, a native of New York, came in 1837 and followed the hatter's trade; he was later Fort Wayne's first Republican mayor. Alfred S. Johns also came in 1837 and established the first saddlery business.[57]

The Panic of 1837 apparently had little permanent effect upon the continuous march of Fort Wayne industry. By 1838 the following industries had appeared in the town:

James W. Deneal	canal boat builder
George Fallo	brewer
Joshua Housman	baker
S. R. Ball	potter
Philip C. Cook	blacksmith
Freeman and Tinkham	cabinetmakers
Louis Wolke	blacksmith
T. Hoagland	draper and tailor
A. Lintz	shoemaker
L. G. Bellamy	shoemaker
Johnson and Miller	cabinetmakers[58]

John W. Dawson, lawyer, editor, and territorial governor of Utah, came to Fort Wayne in 1838. Dawson

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[56] Wood, The Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna, 21.

[57] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 336; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 26.

[58] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 339-340.

became owner of the Fort Wayne Times in 1854. In his "Charcoal Sketches of Old Times in Fort Wayne," the seventh of which appeared in the Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel on March 23, 1872, Dawson gives an excellent summary of the business and industrial activity of 1838. He says:

> There were in the town in 1838, 6 lawyers, 6 preachers of the gospel, 8 physicians, 4 drug stores, about 14 dry goods stores, a dozen grog shops, 3 hotels, 6 or 7 blacksmith shops, several tin shops, 6 carpenter and jointer shops, 4 stone and brick masons, 3 cabinet shops, 6 tailors, 3 wagon makers, 2 bakeries, 1 brewer, 2 saddle shops, 1 printing office, 1 fanning mill factory, 1 jeweler, 1 potter, 1 tinner, 1 banking house, 1 boat yard, 1 hatter, 3 painters, 2 houses of worship, and 6 religious societies, 1 court house, 1 jail.[59]

By the spring of 1837 the Wabash-Erie Canal had been opened between Fort Wayne and Logansport. Previously boats had run between Fort Wayne and Huntington. With the advent of canal navigation, the building of canal boats was immediately started in Fort Wayne and in the succeeding years continued as an important industry. Although F. P. Tinkham was the first boat builder, Barthold and Sons owned the first boat yards which were located on the feeder canal in Bloomingdale. The first boats to do regular service on the canal were built in these yards.[60]

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[59]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Saturday, March 23, 1872), XII, No. 21, p. 3.

[60]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 340.

Industry continued to grow in Fort Wayne during the two years preceding 1840. Two enterprises of this period were the flouring mill built by Marshall Wines and the Foundry and machine shop established by Jacob Bowser and James Story. In 1838 Marshall Wines purchased David Coles' sawmill on the Maumee river and immediately erected a flouring mill adjoining it.. This mill did a flourishing business and continued to operate until it was destroyed by fire on March 24, 1871.[61] Jacob C. Bowser came to Fort Wayne in 1839 from Lancaster, Ohio, and in partnership with James Story at once established the Bowser and Story Foundry and Machine Shop at the southeast corner of Main and Clinton streets.[62] This apparently was the first foundry in Fort Wayne. This firm, after undergoing various reorganizations, was still in operation in 1880.[63]

Looking at the period between 1815 and 1840 as a whole, it becomes apparent that Fort Wayne and vicinity was the scene of considerable activity during these years. The village grew from a small fort and trading post to a town of 1,200 within this span of twenty-five years.

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[61] Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 19.

[62] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 347.

[63] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 116.

Of major importance to the present study is the fact that there is ample evidence to show that industry was keeping pace with the general development of the community. It has been shown that earliest Fort Wayne industry following 1815 was largely connected with the Indians and the Indian trade. Apparently the manufacturing of jewelry and the packaging of furs, both aspects of the Indian trade, grew to considerable proportions during this period.

As the white population increased, demands for industrial products became more pronounced. The poor condition of early roads obviously limited the importation of manufactured goods made in the East, and thus the scene was set for local pioneer manufacturers to provide the necessary items of manufacture for the community in and around Fort Wayne.

The industries started during these early years---flouring mills, tanneries, and blacksmith shops, to mention only a representative sample---reflected the needs of the growing town and the area surrounding it. It is important to remember that these primitive industries were closely allied to agriculture, in that most of the raw materials used came directly from the farm, and all of these industries were designed to supply the necessities of life, not only for the growing town population,

but for the increasing number of farmers as well.

It is also interesting to note that the industrial establishments of this formative period were, for the most part, very small concerns operated by various types of craftsmen who were producing articles on a small scale for an extremely limited market. This, then, was the era of the skilled craftsman, and one might point out here that the craft type of industry continued to be of primary importance in Fort Wayne during the Forties and Fifties.

The building of the Wabash-Erie Canal during the Thirties was of great significance to the growth of Fort Wayne industry. This mighty project drew added population to Allen County and Fort Wayne, and with this increase in population came a corresponding growth in manufacturing due to an increased demand for industrial products. Additional craftsmen were drawn to the pioneer community, and they in turn helped set up new flouring mills, saw mills, and various other types of industry.

The establishment of Bowser and Story's foundry and machine shop at the very end of this period is of major significance. Here, though in a very small way to be sure, is the beginning of heavy industry in Fort Wayne. With the establishment of this foundry and machine shop,

one can see promise of a type of industry growing up in Fort Wayne that would eventually raise manufacturing above the purely craft level.

The decade of the Forties would see the local market further expanded by a continued increase in population; and in addition, the Wabash-Erie Canal would open up more distant markets to the products of Fort Wayne industry.

CHAPTER III.

FACTORS INFLUENCING INDUSTRY, 1840-1850

The decade of the 1840's saw the city of Fort Wayne and surrounding country expanding in a variety of ways. The central theme running through much of this period is to be found in the completion of the Wabash-Erie Canal in 1843 and the resulting impetus this waterway gave to population growth, increased industrial activity, and expanding markets for both industrial and agricultural products.

In 1840 the total population of Allen County was 5,942. The population of Wayne Township, including Fort Wayne, stood at 2,080 persons. By checking the average population of the other townships in the county (Washington, the largest, 595; Jefferson, the smallest, 108), one might assume that the population of Fort Wayne must have been slightly over 1500.[1]

Allen County, in 1840, had 265 persons directly engaged in manufacturing and trades. Wayne Township alone accounted for 238 of this number. Again by a process of deduction it is probably correct to assume that most of these 238 persons were located in Fort Wayne

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[1] Sixth Census of Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, as Corrected at the Department of State, In 1840 (Washington, D. C., 1841), p. 347.

or immediate vicinity. At least it would so appear when one takes into consideration that the next ranking township, so far as manufacturing and trades was concerned, was Madison Township which boasted the relatively insignificant number of seven persons so employed.[2] Clearly, Fort Wayne was the manufacturing center of the county in 1840.

Three other vocations of the day also seem to have had their seat in Fort Wayne in 1840. Out of a total for the county of six persons engaged in the navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers, the entire group was in Wayne Township, and hence probably in Fort Wayne. The same can be said for the learned professions and engineers, a fact that one might have suspected at the beginning. There were twenty-eight persons so employed in the entire county, twenty-seven of whom were in Wayne Township; likely most of these twenty-seven were in the county seat. The same type of evidence and a similar conclusion will apply to persons engaged in commerce--Allen County, 52; Wayne Township, 49.[3]

During the decade of the Forties, the population of Indiana increased forty-four per cent while increasing from 685,866 in 1840 to 988,416 in 1850.[4] The population

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[2] Sixth Census, 347, 371.

[3] Ibid., 347, 371.

[4] Compendium of the Seventh Census, Table CXXXVI, 132-133.

of Allen County, on the other hand, increased one hundred and eighty-five per cent in the same period, rising from 5,942 in 1840 to 16,919 in 1850.[5] By 1850 the population of Fort Wayne had risen to 4,282; and by 1853 to 6,500 which was roughly four times the approximate figure for 1840.[6]

The total amount of capital invested in manufacturing in Allen County in 1840 was $67,300. Among the manufacturing activities listed were: Skins and furs, machinery, bricks and lime, hats and caps, tanneries and leather products, soap, distilleries, breweries, printing, carriages and wagons, 3 flouring mills, 2 grist mills, 14 saw mills, ships and vessels, and furniture. In a total of 87 counties in Indiana in 1840, Allen County ranked 23rd in manufacturing.[7]

The figures for 1850 are interesting by contrast. In 1850 the manufacturing capital of Allen County stood at $298,850, an increase of 343% over 1840, and Allen County then ranked 7th among the 91 counties of the state. Wayne Township claimed 81% of Allen County's manufacturing capital or $242,500. The total number of persons

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[5] Compendium of the Seventh Census, 224.

[6] Ibid., 354.

[7] Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as obtained at the Department of State, From the Returns of the Sixth Census, Etc. (Washington, 1841), 286-297.

employed in manufacturing was 491 of which Wayne Township had 399 or 81%. The value of manufactured products for the county in 1850 was $701,300. Wayne Township claimed 78.5% of this total or $550,850.[8] Obviously, Fort Wayne had no rival industrial center in Allen County.

The agricultural statistics for 1850 are also important to the study of industrial development during the decade under consideration. By 1850 the farmers of Allen County were producing: 189,339 bushels of wheat, 59,038 bushels of rye and oats, 281,339 bushels of Indian corn, 48,360 bushels of Irish and sweet potatoes, 119 bushels of peas and beans, 363 bushels of barley, 5,919 bushels of buckwheat, 137,856 pounds of butter and cheese, 5,919 tons of hay, 30 pounds of hops, 337 bushels of clover seed, 159 bushels of flaxseed, 510 pounds of flax, 24,256 pounds of maple sugar, 331 gallons of molasses, 14,240 pounds of wool, and 18,986 pounds of beeswax and honey.[9]

The development of agriculture is important to the study of industry in two respects. In the first place, many of these agricultural products served as raw materials

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[8] Compendium of the Seventh Census, Part VI, 229; Original Returns of the Seventh Census, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, for Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana.

[9] Compendium of the Seventh Census, Part VI, 227-229.

for the growing industries of Fort Wayne. In the second place, these products provided the farmer with money or goods which he could exchange for the products of Fort Wayne industry.

The progress in material wealth of Allen County and Fort Wayne can be approximately measured for this decade by the following statistics gathered from the books of Henry Rudisill, County Auditor:[10]

1840---	Real property in Allen County	$821,662
	Personal " " " "	234,932
	Real property in Fort Wayne	367,336
	Personal " " " "	134,932
1850---	Real property in Allen County	1,860,103
	Personal " " " "	595,336
	Real property in Fort Wayne	604,439
	Personal " " " "	381,476

The industrial growth of Fort Wayne between 1840 and 1850 was influenced by the Wabash-Erie Canal in three different ways, namely, population growth in Fort Wayne and Allen County, expansion of markets, and water power. Each of these was important to the development of industry.

After the completion of the canal in 1843, it provided an easy avenue of approach for immigrants coming into northern Indiana. By and large, during the years from 1840 to 1850, those counties on the canal showed a greater increase in population than did those that were

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[10] Quoted in Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley, 380-381. The figures for 1860 given in the same order were: $4,952,385; $1,950,695; $1,449,300; and $814,870.

not;[11] and it is likely that most of the immigrants coming to Fort Wayne and Allen County during the decade came by way of the canal. As population increased, the demands for industrial products and services became proportionately greater.

Another influence of the canal is to be found in the fact that this waterway not only brought the immigrant to the end of his journey, but provided him with the means of marketing that portion of his agricultural or industrial products which could not be absorbed by the local market once he had become settled. Without the canal, the development of the interior portions of the Northwest would have had to await the era of the railroads.[12] As Professor Kohlmeier has pointed out:

> The ability of the settlers of the United States ultimately to rise above the primitive conditions of pioneers depended upon their ability to produce a surplus of something for which there was a market and their ability to get that surplus to the market and receive in return the things that they needed at a cost of transportation that would not be prohibitive.[13]

That the canal did provide such a means for marketing products along its route in this period is amply borne out by statistics presented in the Annual Report

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[11] Compendium of the Seventh Census, 224, 230.

[12] Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 98.

[13] Albert L. Kohlmeier, The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics (Bloomington, Indiana, 1938), 2.

of the Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal for the year 1848.[14] Some of the more important items cleared from the Fort Wayne Collectors Office for the years 1847 and 1848 as presented in this report were:

1847	
Barrels of flour	36,548
Bushels of wheat	119,745
Barrels of whiskey	2,120
Pounds of iron	2,133,778
Pounds of lumber	1,360,079
Pounds of staves	323,261
Pounds of agricultural implements	15,054
Pounds of pot and pearl ash	381,659
1848	
Barrels of whiskey	2,176
Barrels of oil	286
Barrels of lime	93
Pounds of iron nails and castings	3,177,857
Pounds of furniture and wagons	937,961
Pounds of agricultural implements	73,054
Pounds of staves hoops, etc.	189,210
Feet of lumber	1,410,392
Number of laths	45,000
Thousands of shingles	6,173
Kegs of beer	422
Pounds of leather	247,304
Pounds of saleratus	79,603
Pounds of beeswax and roots	46,443

Perhaps no other figures are necessary to show that the canal by 1847 and 1848 was providing an avenue

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[14] Annual Report of the Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal, to the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, December, 1848 (Indianapolis, 1848), 268-269.

of trade that must indeed dispel the "primitive conditions of pioneers" as far as Fort Wayne and Allen County were concerned. It is apparent from checking the above items that agricultural and industrial products of northern Indiana were finding foreign markets via the canal, and that finished products and raw materials were also finding their way into the region over the same route.

Certain industries in this period would have greater need for foreign markets than others. The milling industry, for instance, was producing a greater quantity of products than the local market could absorb.

> Everywhere the canal...made trade conditions such as to support varied industries. The flouring mills at Logansport, Delphi, Wabash, Lafayette, Huntington, and at Fort Wayne are especially noteworthy in this connection...Every town had its warehouses for grain and pork.[15]

An important canal shipment of the year 1842 included 45,000 hoop-poles and 250 barrels of cranberries bound for New Orleans.[16] This shipment apparently originated at Fort Wayne. Examples of other shipments originating at Fort Wayne in 1845 can be gathered from the records of the collector's office at Fort Wayne for

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[15]Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in Johns Hopkins, University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 100.

[16]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 360.

that year.[17] One shipment of May 8th, from Fort Wayne to the State Line, included 25 barrels of whiskey, 46 casks of ashes, and 14 barrels of flour; on June 2nd, 1,080 pounds of flour, 200 pounds of bacon and pork, and 30 pounds of fish; June 5th, Fort Wayne to Logansport, 800 pounds of furniture. Other shipments included: 2,000 bricks, June 1st; 32 packs of furs and 61 packs of deerskins, June 7th; furs, ashes, and skins, June 8th; and 10 barrels of pork, 2,180 pounds of roots, 59,345 pounds of whiskey, and 125 barrels of flour during the remainder of the month. Other items mentioned were saleratus, apples, merchandise, beer, and 189 barrels of wheat.

Another important way in which the canal supported industrial enterprises during this period was in supplying water power to turn the wheels of industry.

One of the first plans of the projectors of the canal was to furnish industries with the surplus water power at various points along the route and immediately after its construction took steps to rent this water power.[18]

Thus water power furnished by the canal made possible the erection of various mills and manufactories which were a vital link in the progress of Fort Wayne

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[17]Toll Collector's Record Book for 1845, Fort Wayne, Indiana (This record book is in the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana).

[18]Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in Johns Hopkins University (Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 99.

and vicinity and certainly affected industrial growth to a marked degree. The importance of water power furnished by the canal will become obvious in the next chapter where a more detailed account of the various industries is given. For the present it might be interesting to notice how this water power was leased. The way in which these leases operated is indicated by the lease granted to Allen Hamilton and Jesse L. Williams on the 29th of November, 1842. The terms of this lease are preserved in a report made in 1846 by Francis Cleveland, who was an engineer appointed to examine and guage water power on the canal. The section of Cleveland's report pertaining to the lease of Hamilton and Williams follows:

II. At or near Clinton street in the town of Fort Wayne. Allen Hamilton and Jesse L. Williams, lessees and present holders. Dated 29th November, 1842. For 30 years from May 1, 1843.

This lease grants water sufficient when used on an overshot wheel of 16 feet diameter, to propel three run of 4½ feet mill stones; to be measured and paid for by the ordinary standard.

At the time this mill was examined, and three run of stones in operation, it was expending 927 cubic feet; but as this was rather below the average, I have allowed 1,000 cubic feet per minute as the quantity "necessary," and to which the lessees are entitled.

The quantity is equal to 4.85 standard mill stone powers.

The annual rent is this number multiplied by the price per standard power, viz., $210, and amounts to $1,018.50.

In this, as in almost all the other leases, the annual rent is fixed for 11 months; in other words, this

period is regarded as a rent year. And it is provided, that if for the purpose of making repairs, for navigation, from an inadequate supply, or from breaches, the lessees are prevented from using the water during 11 months in the year, a deduction shall be made from the annual rent, bearing to this rent the same proportion that the lost time bears to 11 months, or the rent year.[19]

The hey-day of the canal ran from about 1847 to 1856. The money received from tolls and water rents increased steadily until 1853, and during the same period the average annual cost of repairs and maintenance declined. The tolls and rents mounted to $193,400.18 in 1852, the highest amount received from that source. From 1853 on, the income from the canal showed a continuous decrease.[20] The decade of the Fifties saw the waterway fight a losing battle with the Iron Horse.

As important as the Wabash-Erie Canal was in this period, it is perfectly clear that its value to the back country or the country off the canal would depend on the ease with which these people could reach the waterway. Fort Wayne and other points on the canal would become important markets for trade only if facilities for travel from the north and south to these points were improved.

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[19] Report of the Engineer Appointed to Examine and Guage Water Power on the Wabash and Erie Canal, December, 1846 (Indianapolis, 1846), 211.

[20] Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 76.

Along the north line of the canal a strip of country from fifty to one hundred miles in breadth was tributary to this waterway. In the south the belt extended from forty to sixty miles in width.[21] With the canal drawing such a breadth of trade, perhaps it would be well to consider the condition of the roads leading to Fort Wayne during the Forties.

In 1841 the Goshen and the Mongoquinong roads were opened. In the autum of 1843 the citizens of Fort Wayne subscribed $1,000 to help keep these roads in a passable condition. About the same time the Bluffton and Yellow River roads were opened and could be traveled with some degree of safety.[22]

In 1843 a road committee consisting of seven members was appointed as the result of a meeting held at Fort Wayne on September 5th. This committee was to confer with citizens of DeKalb, Noble, Whitley, LaGrange, Kosciusko, Adams, and Wells counties, attempting to induce them to appoint committees which would take steps to improve the roads from these various counties to Fort Wayne. The roads to be improved included the

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[21] Benton, "The Wabash Trade Route" in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 100, quoting letter of Jesse L. Williams of January 30, 1840, to Governor Shannon of Ohio.

[22] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 58.

Bluffton road, Lima road, Goshen road, Yellow River road, Piqua road, Winchester road, Van Wert road, and Huntington road.[23]

That the Indiana General Assembly was not deaf to the cry for better roads is indicated by an act passed on January 15, 1844, similar in content to many others passed during the Forties, calling for better improvement of important state roads in Allen, DeKalb, Noble, Huntington, and Wells counties.[24]

But in spite of the efforts of the General Assembly and those of local citizens, "the roads leading to Fort Wayne were in a wretched condition much of the time, and their improvement became a subject of vital necessity."[25]

In the spring of 1848, the Fort Wayne and Lima Plankroad Company was organized with Samuel Hanna as president.[26] Plank roads were coming into considerable use in Canada and in the East, and Jesse Vermilyea of Allen County had visited and examined some of these roads and had reported favorably. The people were anxious for this type of improvement, and those along

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[23]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 58.

[24]General Laws of the State of Indiana, 1843-1844, p.79.

[25]Wood, Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna, 23.

[26]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 58.

the line who did not have the money, subscribed in land, produce, and labor. By 1850 this road had been completed north to Ontario, Indiana, a distance of some fifty miles. This was the first road of this kind undertaken and completed in northern Indiana.[27]

Other similar roads followed in quick succession, among which were the Piqua plank road and the Bluffton plank road, the latter company being organized on the 25th of January, 1850.[28]

These plank roads, along with improved ordinary roads, gave the back country more ready access to the canal and inhanced the position of Fort Wayne as a commercial port on the canal. They also increased the magnitude of the local market for industrial products in that these people in the vicinity of Fort Wayne with increasing frequency would be brought face to face with the products of Fort Wayne industry.

The factors influencing industry then in the Forties were increased population, expansion of agriculture, and better transportational facilities due to the operation of the Wabash-Erie Canal, the improvement of old roads, and the building of plank roads.

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[27]Wood, Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna, 23.

[28]Ibid., 23; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 58.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH, 1840-1850

Although it is not possible to give an exhaustive presentation of even the more important industrial enterprises undertaken in the various years between 1840 and 1850, it is, nevertheless, of considerable interest to point out some of the men and concerns that contributed to the industrial activity of the decade.

In giving a chronological summary of industry in Fort Wayne and vicinity during the Forties, first mention might be given to Frederick Graffe, born in Brunswick, Germany, in 1809, who came to Fort Wayne in 1840. Graffe was a cabinet maker and merchant.[1] By 1850 the firm of Muhler and Graffe was turning out cabinet work to the value of $2,000 per year.[2] In the same year, Daniel Nestel came to Fort Wayne. Nestel subsequently set himself up in the blacksmith trade which he followed for twenty-six years.[3] Another blacksmith, Louis Wolke, also made his appearance in 1840; he set up his shop in

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[1]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 357.

[2]Original Returns of the Seventh Census, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, for Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana (hereinafter referred to as Original returns of the Seventh Census).

[3]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 357.

an alley on the east side of Calhoun street between Columbia and Main streets. Wolke's business partner, Herman Hitz, was also a newcomer to Fort Wayne in 1840.[4]

By far the best known distillery of the period was built in 1840 by Francis Comparet. This building, a two-story hewn log structure, was located on the south side of the canal about 300 feet east of the Coombs street crossing. Comparet operated this distillery until 1842 when he leased it to Jesse Smith and J. Dudley. These two men continued the business for several years until they vacated the building and moved to Peru, Indiana. On December 3, 1848, the city council passed an ordinance to prohibit distilling within the city limits.[5] It is apparent that the one distillery operating in Wayne Township in 1850[6] was located beyond the jurisdiction of the City Fathers.

Perhaps the most interesting industrial enterprise entered into in 1840 was the one that enjoyed an extremely short existence. In this year many citizens entered extensively into a somewhat dubious venture, the culture

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[4]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113.

[5]Ibid., 114; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 26.

[6]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

of silk. After this project was begun, it was discovered that the climatic or soil conditions existing in Fort Wayne were unsuitable to the growing of mulberry trees, upon the leaves of which the silk worm thrives.[7]

The year 1841 saw William Robinson establish a sash factory on Duck street, one of the several mills of the Forties operated by water power furnished by the canal. This mill was put into operation in 1842 and continued under various owners until 1873. The building was a two-and-one-half story frame, sitting astride the mill race, and the power was generated by reaction wheels. The machinery for the mill was purchased in Cleveland, Ohio, by Robinson. A little over a year after the mill began operating, Robinson died and his interests were acquired by Hill and Williams, who in turn sold the business to James Howe. Howe's name appears as owner on the census returns for 1850. From 1852 to 1873 the mill was operated by Reuben Fronefield and Robert T. Todd.[8] By 1850 this mill was using annually 15,000 feet of lumber and was turning out products worth $1,000 per year.[9]

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[7]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 357-358.

[8]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 23; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 112; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 359.

[9]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

Other activities of 1841 included the brick yard established by Michael Koehler,[10] the blacksmith shop of Philip Cook at the northeast corner of Main and Calhoun streets, and the cooperage shop of Jesse Swigart in an alley between Columbia and Main streets.[11]

Also in 1841, John Brown was admitted as a partner into the stone and marble works of James Humphrey. This business was conducted on the west side of Fulton street, north of Main. Various men connected with this industry during the next forty years included Christian Becker, Arnold Sutermeister, H. W. Bond, and Charles Birkner. This shop was enlarged about 1871 and a new steam engine and rubbing-bed were added. This rubbing-bed consisted of a cast-iron plate ten feet in diameter which weighed 9,000 pounds and turned at the rate of 120 revolutions per minute. By 1879 the facilities of this shop included five buildings, a steam engine developing thirty horse power, and two Merriman patent stone saws. The company was then employing fifteen men and the capital invested approximated $25,000.[12] In 1850 this business was employing six men and was producing stone products

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[10]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 359.

[11]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113.

[12]Ibid., 114.

to the value of $3,000 per year.[13]

During 1842 and 1843, William Rockhill and his partner, Samuel Edsall, constructed two saw mills on the north side of the canal and on the east side of the St. Marys river. In july, 1843, Rockhill withdrew from this partnership and Edsall started construction on a large grist mill which was completed two years later. This mill was located on the right bank of the St. Marys river immediately north of the West Main street bridge and derived its power from the canal.[14] By 1850 this mill was doing the largest volume of business of any grist mill in Fort Wayne, grinding 100,000 bushels of wheat annually with a yearly output of 20,000 barrels of flour valued at $80,000.[15] This mill, known variously as the Edsall Mill, Empire Mill, Old Stone Mill, and Orff's Mill, continued in business until 1897. After 1872 power was supplied by both water and steam.[16]

Another grist mill of this period dependent on the canal for power was put into operation in 1843 by Allen Hamilton and Jesse L. Williams. This mill was located

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[13]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[14]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 21; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 23; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117.

[15]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[16]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 22.

one and a half blocks north of the present Allen County Court House on the west side of Clinton street, between Superior street and the Nickel Plate Railroad. Hamilton soon retired and Pliny Hoagland entered the business as William's partner.[17] This business is listed under the Name of Hoagland and Comstock in the census returns for 1850 and at that time was yearly grinding 65,000 bushels of wheat and producing 15,000 barrels of flour valued at $63,000.[18] Christian Tresselt, a canal boat captain, became a silent partner in the firm in 1860, and in 1870 the firm changed to Hoagland, Tresselt and Company. Williams withdrew in 1872, and subsequently Tresselt and his sons, Oscar, Herman, and Fred became sole owners of the business. This family continued to operate the mill until 1920. When the water supply gave out in 1883 because of the abandonment of the canal, steam equipment was immediately installed and shortly thereafter the "Roller Process" was used.

The mill was "L" shaped and of frame construction consisting of massive beams of hand-hewn walnut. The first three floors housed the mill equipment and above

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[17]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 22; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117.

[18]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

were storage bins for grain. Because of its fine urban location, this was one of the best patronized mills of the county. Farmers could do their shopping while their grain was being ground. Grain was brought to the mill in the early days by ox-cart and other primitive means of conveyance, and if the farmer arrived at the mill late in the day he often spent the night in the mill office.[19]

Samuel Hanna and Henry Work, in 1843, built a tannery housing forty vats on the north side of the canal and west of the southwest corner of Barr and Water streets. When the building burned down in 1848, Work and Hanna immediately rebuilt on the same site and named the business the Phoenix Tannery. This new building, which was a substantial brick structure, also housed forty vats and in addition a fifteen-horse-power steam engine. In 1851, Work retired and Jacob Fry and T. P. Anderson were admitted, and the business continued under the name of Hanna, Anderson, and Company. In 1853, Hanna and Anderson withdrew with Fry continuing alone until he vacated the tannery in 1854.[20]

In 1843, the old tannery built by Absalom Holcomb

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[19]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No.1), 22-23; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 373.

[20]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 112; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 373.

and Isaac Marquis at the west end of Columbia street in 1828 was abandoned and Charles Paige and James Robinson, who owned it at that time, built a new building just west of the old structure. This new building was a frame structure housing forty vats. In 1846 or 1847, Paige withdrew leaving Robinson to continue the business alone During 1846-1847 Paige, in partnership with William Thorpe and Conrad Nill, built another new tannery on the opposite side of the canal from the one then owned by his former partner Robinson. This tannery under various owners continued in operation until some time after 1861. This tannery, too, was of frame construction and housed twenty-eight vats. In later years steam power was used.[21]

The census figures for 1850 list only two tanneries in operation in that year---one operated by Page sic. and Hanna and the other by H. and W. Work. These partnerships and the number of tanneries in operation seem to be at variance with the accounts just presented. It is impossible to tell just where the discrepancy lies. At any rate, according to the census returns the tannery operated by Page and Hanna was annually producing goods valued at $6,000, and that of H. and W. Work, $12,000.[22]

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[21]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 112-113.

[22]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

Ball and Johnson was the name of another firm apparently started in 1843. These men were engaged in the coopering business and were located on the south side of Pearl street, between Harrison and Maiden Lane.[23] According to the census returns for 1850, John Johnson, cooper, was annually manufacturing 5,000 barrels valued at $4,000.[24]

Another partnership of 1843 was formed by Henry Rudisill, Sr., and Louis Wolke. A four-story brick and stone building, 44 x 45 feet in size, was erected at the eastern terminus of Water street, to be used as a flax-seed or linseed oil mill in connection with roll carding. The mill derived its power from the canal by an overshot wheel. In 1844 most of the oil processing equipment seems to have been removed, and carding machinery, along with a set of cards and looms and other auxiliary machinery, was installed. The firm was known as Henry Rudisill and Son.[25] By 1850 this business, listed in the census returns as Rudisill and Wolke was manufacturing yearly 28,000 yards of cloth valued at $21,000.[26]

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[23]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113.

[24]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[25]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Saturday, November 18, 1871), XI, No. 260, p. 4; Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 24.

[26]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

In 1854 when Wolke became sole owner, he added a steam engine to the plant's equipment, but also continued the use of water power. In 1856 the establishment was enlarged and supplied with two sets of machinery. The firm then employed fifteen employees and operated 140 spindles. In 1859 a partnership was formed by Henry Rudisill, Jr., R. Morgan French, and N. B. and M. B. Freeman. In 1861 Rudisill and the Freemans retired leaving French to continue the business until 1863 when Judge Hanna and his son, Willis, were admitted, the firm now becoming French, Hanna, and Company.[27] An article describing this industry appeared in the Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel in 1871.

> The main building is 45 x 156 feet, four stories high. On the east side and in addition to the main structure, is the engine and boiler room, made fireproof, where we found one of Murray and Bennigan's sixty horse power engines running the machinery throughout the works. In addition to this power, there is a sixteen foot water-wheel, which is used for the same purpose when there is a sufficient supply of water in the Canal.... At the present time the mill is running 720 spindles, manufacturing 90,000 lbs. of wool per year, requiring the services of forty hands.[28]

The Summit City Woolen Mill, as this mill was called during its later years of operation, was eventually forced

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[27]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Saturday, November 18, 1871), XI, No. 260, p. 4; Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 24.

[28]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Saturday, November 18, 1871), XI, No. 260, p. 4.

out of business by the building of the Nickel Plate Railroad which followed the course of the canal and shut off the water supply to this and similar industries. A suit for damages was instituted which on November 1, 1883, reached the United States District Court at Indianapolis. Five years later, a receiver was appointed for the company, and shortly after this the woolen mill was closed, the buildings being used for warehouse purposes.[29]

In 1845, W. and J. Paul established a chair factory, and in the same year, Henry Hitzfield started to manufacture "seraphims" and organs.[30] The establishment of W. and J. Paul was turning out $3,500 worth of chairs and cabinets by 1850.[31] On the other hand, Hitzfield must have run in to a rather limited market as far as musical instruments were concerned, because neither he nor anyone else was manufacturing "seraphims" and organs when the census of 1850 was taken.

It was also in 1845 that William Yergens, who later became a lumber and cooperage manufacturer, came to Fort Wayne.[32] And in 1846, three other men who subsequently

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[29]Bates, "The Water-Powered Mills of Allen County, Indiana," in Old Fort News (VII, No. 1), 24.

[30]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 385.

[31]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[32]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 385.

became prominent in industry moved to Fort Wayne: they were John G. Theime, tailor; Christian Schiefer, shoe merchant; and Christian Tresselt, miller.[33]

George Baker, his two sons, and a brother, Henry, started to operate a steam sawmill at the corner of Water and Lafayette streets in 1848. Baker and his sons had previously been engaged in the wagon and plow manufacturing business from 1840 to 1848. This mill was powered by a fifty-horse-power steam engine brought from Pittsburg. This seems to have been the first steam sawmill actually within the city limits.[34] By 1850 this mill was regularly employing eight men and was sawing 700,000 feet of lumber annually, valued at $6,500.[35] By 1880 this mill was operating two "muley" saws, employing ten men, and had a capacity of about 5,000 feet of lumber per day.[36]

It was also in 1848 that William H. Coombs and Samuel ? Edsall put into operation a steam sawmill on the north side of the canal, Lot No. 568, Hanna's Addition.[37] This firm does not appear in the census

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[33]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 395.

[34]Ibid., 403; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 118.

[35]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[36]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 118; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 403.

[37]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 395.

returns for 1850, but William S. Edsall and Jos. P. Edsall, brothers of Samuel Edsall, are both listed as operating steam saw mills in 1850. The mill of William S. Edsall was at that time sawing 1,600,000 feet of lumber per year, valued at $12,800; and that of Jos. P. Edsall, 600,000 feet, valued at $5,500.[38]

Sion S. Bass, prominent manufacturer of the Fifties, came to Fort Wayne in 1848; as did also Joseph Singmaster, tanner; Solomon Bash, miller and grain dealer; and B. H. Bueter, miller.[39]

During 1848-1849 the world was electrified by the discovery of gold in California. That some of the citizens in and around Fort Wayne were not adverse to the prospect of sudden riches in California is sustained by the following account.

Frederick Becker, who arrived in Fort Wayne from Europe in 1848, made a large number of wagons of the "prairie schooner" type for the Forty-niners who departed from Fort Wayne.[40] Since Becker and his enterprise are not listed in the Census of 1850, it is possible to conjecture that he himself, while building

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[38]Original returns of the Seventh Census.

[39]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 403-404.

[40]Ibid., 401.

these wagons, became obsessed with the gold fever and jumping into one of his "prairie schooners" made off for the West.

Peter Moran, Fort Wayne's first ice dealer, came from Ireland in 1849. Also coming to Fort Wayne in the same year were Ferd C. Boltz, manufacturer; Henry Volland, miller; John I. White, hardware merchant and manufacturer; Aimee Racine from Switzerland, manufacturer of saddlery; and Francis A. Voirol from Switzerland, jeweler. Following these men in 1850 were Charles Pape, manufacturer, and Charles F. Diether, with his sons, Louis and John H., who were soon engaged in the lumber business.[41]

Obviously the list of industrial enterprises just discussed in some detail does not include a handling of each and every industrial venture begun in Fort Wayne during the Forties. Indeed, no such exhaustive handling of industry is possible for this period because most of the circumstances concerning the establishment and operation of the less important industries have been obscured by the passage of time. A glance at the census statistics for 1850 will show that there were some relatively important industries in existence in Wayne Township in that year for which not even any mention, let alone detailed

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[41]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 406-407.

accounts, can be found elsewhere. Such gaps in detail are perhaps not vitally important to the over-all picture of industry, but it is important to realize that such gaps do exist.

Mention should also be made of the newspaper press of the Forties and of its relative insignificance as a primary source for the study of industry during the decade.

In 1841 George W. Wood started Fort Wayne's second newspaper, the Times. In order to get the necessary funds for the new enterprise, Wood disposed of his interests in the Sentinel to Thomas Tigar, one of the original founders of the first newspaper in Fort Wayne. Wood afterward established another paper, the Peoples Press, which was later merged with the Times.[42]

About the only value these newspapers of the Forties have relative to a study of industry is to be found in the numerous advertisements run by various industrial firms. Although these advertisements do perhaps give one something of the flavor of the times, their worth would be infinitely greater to a study of the development of journalistic advertising than to a study of the development of industry. On the other hand, articles

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[42]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 356-357.

dealing with industry itself, had such articles been written during the Forties, would undoubtedly have proved of major importance to the present study. That such newspaper accounts of industrial growth were not written in this period was probably due to the fact that industry was still fairly simple and most of the people who read these early newspapers were thoroughly acquainted with the general picture of industry as it existed in Fort Wayne. Not until the Seventies did newspaper editors begin to give considerable space to articles dealing with new industrial enterprises or long-established firms---and by that time industry had become complicated enough to interest readers unacquainted with new strides being taken in the industrial field.

Of greater value to the study of industry in Fort Wayne and vicinity for the decade of the Forties is that portion of the original census returns for 1850 dealing with industry in Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana. From these returns one can glean a rather comprehensive analysis of industry as it existed in Wayne Township in 1850.[43]

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[43]In an effort to compile all pertinent information concerning industry, the census taker used fourteen separate columns in listing each industrial enterprise. These fourteen separate columns in order were: Name of Corporation, Company, or Individual, producing Articles to the Annual Value of $500; Name of Business, Manufacture,

The number and kinds of industrial establishments in Fort Wayne and Wayne Township as enumerated in 1850 are exhibited in the table on page 74.

Heading the list with the greatest number of establishments were the blacksmiths and joiners, eight enterprises each. On the other hand, of the thirty-four kinds of Manufacturing concerns listed in the Census of 1850, fourteen had no competition whatsoever in the local field.[44] There is of course an obvious reason for the differences to be found in the total number of establishments of a particular kind. It is entirely clear that there would be a great demand for the services of a blacksmith in the type of community Fort Wayne represented in 1850. It is also clear that one glue factory could, in all probability, supply the demand for that product. This simple analysis would not hold true throughout; but, in general, it can be said that the demand for a particular

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or Product; Capital invested in Real and Personal Estate in the Business; Raw Material used, including Fuel (Quantities, Kinds, Values); Kind of motive power, machinery, structure, or resource; Average number of hands employed (Male, Female); Wages (Average monthly cost of male labour, Average monthly cost of female labour); Annual Product (Quantities, Kinds, Values).

[44]Original returns of the Seventh Census (all of the following statistics, including the various tables of figures, are taken from this source); See table on page 74.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES RANKED ACCORDING TO CAPITAL INVESTED

Type of Industry	Number of Firms	Capital Invested
Flouring Mills	3	$45,000
Boots & Shoes	6	28,500
Distillery	1	25,000
Saw Mills	7	21,000
Foundries	3	16,000
Oil Mill & Woolen Factory	1	14,500
Tanners	2	11,000
Breweries	4	10,100
Cabinet Makers	6	9,400
Ashery	1	5,000
Saddlers	4	55,000
Tailors	3	5,000
Bakers	2	4,500
Tinners	2	4,500
Printers	2	4,300
Joiners	8	4,100
Lime Kilns	2	4,000
Blacksmiths	8	3,600
Boatyards	2	2,500
Chandlers	1	2,500
Coopers	5	2,450
Brick Makers	4	2,300
Laboratory	1	2,000
Wagon Makers	4	1,650
Stone Cutter	1	1,600
Saleratus	1	1,500
Potters	2	1,300
Hatter	1	1,200
Sash Factory	1	1,000
Fanning Mill Factory	1	800
Glue Factory	1	500
Shingle Factory	1	300
Last Factory	1	200
Rope Maker	1	200
TOTAL	93	$242,500

type of product in Fort Wayne in 1850 largely limited the number of concerns that could engage profitably in a given business. The exceptions to this rule were to be found in those industries whose local markets had been expanded by the transportational facilities offered by the Wabash-Erie Canal.

The total amount of capital invested in industry in Wayne Township in 1850 was $242,500. Capital invested in various types of enterprises ranged from a total of $45,000 in the flouring mill business to $200 in both a last factory and a rope-making concern. The capital invested in other types of industry lay between those two extremes. Six categories of industry had a capital investment of $1,000 or less; six types of industry lay between $1,000 and $2,000; four between $2,000 and $3,000; two between $3,000 and $4,000; seven between $4,000 and $5,000; one between $5,000 and $10,000; four between $10,000 and $20,000; three between $20,000 and $40,000; and one above $40,000.[45]

The largest amount of capital invested in any one concern was $25,000 invested in the distillery of S. H. Dudley and Company. Samuel Edsall's flouring mill came next with $20,000, followed by James H. Robinson's leather and shoe manufactory, $15,000; Hoagland and

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[45] See table on page 74.

Comstock's flouring mill, $15,000; Rudisill and Wolke's oil and woolen manufactory, $14,500; Bowser and Story's foundry, $10,000; and Daniel S. Beaver's flouring mill, $10,000. Seven individual businesses were capitalized at $10,000 or more in 1850, including one distillery, three flouring mills, one shoe and leather manufactory, one foundry, and one oil mill and woolen manufactory.

On the other hand, out of a total of ninety-three individual enterprises listed in the census returns, forty-one were capitalized at less than $1,000 and of these, twenty-six were employing capital of $500 or less. The blacksmith shop of Patrick Welsh enjoyed the distinction of operating on the smallest capital investment, $100. From the distillery of S. H. Dudley and Company to the blacksmith shop of Patrick Welsh lay the difference between a capital investment of $25,000 and $100.

As far as the value of raw materials used was concerned, the flouring mill industry led the field in 1850 with raw materials, including fuel, valued at $146,500. Other important users of raw materials were: distilling, $22,400; boots and shoes and allied leather work, $18,880; foundries, $15,500; sawmills, $13,300; oil mill and woolen factory, $10,000. At the other end of the scale were: last factory, $4[illegible]; and glue factory, $20. For individual

enterprises, the two extremes were $75,000 for the flouring mill of Samuel Edsall and $20 for the glue factory of John Smith.[46]

A consideration of the types of motive power used in industry in 1850 is also of interest. Sixty-six individual enterprises out of a total of ninety-three were operated entirely by hand power; ten used steam; nine, water; and eight, horse power. Steam power was used principally in the milling industries, distilling industry, and foundry industry. Water was used, for the most part, in milling. On the other hand, the boot and shoe industry, which was extremely important at the time, operated solely by hand power.

The average number of male workers employed in Wayne Township in 1850 was 399. There were only eleven females engaged in industry in that year, and their work was limited to three individual firms, namely, the oil and woolen mill of Rudisill and Wolke, employing four women; the boot and shoe enterprise of T. P. Anderson and Company, employing five; and the tailoring concern of James N. Blofsom, employing two. The average monthly wage for men was $23.46, and for women, $8.45.[47]

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[46] See Table on page 78.

[47] For average monthly wages in all types of industries, see table on page 80.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES RANKED ACCORDING TO ANNUAL VALUE OF PRODUCT

Name	Value of Raw Materials	Average Monthly Wage	Annual Value of Products
Flouring Mills	$146,500	$ 420	$163,000
Distillery	22,000	250	50,000
Boots & Shoes	18,880	1,070	46,000
Foundries	15,500	685	38,500
Saw Mills	13,300	705	35,400
Oil mill & woolen factory	10,000	232	21,000
Cabinet Makers	4,120	850	20,800
Tanners	9,100	280	18,000
Joiners	2,700	690	13,900
Breweries	6,260	176	13,500
Tinners	6,500	270	13,500
Cooper	2,110	520	11,100
Tailors	6,450	236	11,000
Saddlers	2,620	280	10,900
Boatyards	2,000	425	9,500
Blacksmiths	1,650	370	8,700
Saleratus	6,090	60	8,000
Ashery	1,900	100	7,500
Laboratory	1,500	125	6,000
Printing	645	145	5,500
Wagon Makers	480	285	5,400
Lime Kilns	2,400	140	5,200
Brickmakers	720	255	4,600
Bakers	2,500	120	4,500
Chandlery	1,120	150	4,500
Stone Cutter	840	180	3,000
Potters	245	85	2,800
Hatter	500	50	2,000
Fanning Mill factory	100	50	1,600
Rope Maker	500	60	1,500
Shingle factory	300	50	1,350
Glue factory	20	60	1,000
Sash factory	150	50	1,000
Last factory	40	30	600
TOTAL	$289,740	$9,454	$550,850

Seven types of industry gave employment to twenty or more men. The boot and shoe industry stood at the top with forty-five men employed. Following in order of number of men employed were: cabinetmaking, 34; sawmills, 29; coopers, 25; joiners, 24; foundries, 24; and boat yards, 22. At the opposite extreme there were eleven categories of industry employing five workers or less.[48]

The top average monthly wage for men, $30 per month, was to be earned in the five following types of industry: flouring mill, tinning, stone cutting, glue manufacturing, and last manufacturing. The printing business paid the lowest average monthly wage, $16.11. The most lucrative job for women was to be found in the boot and shoe business where the magnificent pittance of $9.00 was the average monthly wage.[49]

The boot and shoe industry, employing forty-five men and five women, led with the largest monthly payroll, $1,070. At the bottom was the last manufacturing industry employing one man with a payroll of $30 per month.[50] The total industrial payroll for the year 1850 amounted to $113,448.

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[48] See table on page 80.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES RANKED ACCORDING TO AVERAGE TOTAL MONTHLY WAGES PAID

Name	Average Number of Men Employed	Average Total Monthly Wages	Average Male Wage Per Month
Boots & Shoes	45	$1,070*	$22.78
Cabinet Makers	34	850	25.00
Saw Mills	29	705	24.31
Joiners	24	690	28.75
Foundries	24	685	28.54
Coopers	25	520	20.80
Boatyards	22	425	19.32
Flouring Mills	14	420	30.00
Blacksmiths	16	370	23.13
Wagon Makers	10	285	28.50
Saddlers	13	280	21.54
Tanners	12	280	23.33
Tinners	9	270	30.00
Brick Makers	14	255	18.21
Distillery	14	250	17.86
Tailors	11	236*	20.00
Oil Mill & Woolen Factory	8	232*	25.00
Stone Cutter	6	180	30.00
Breweries	9	176	19.56
Chandlery	6	150	25.00
Printing	9	145	16.11
Lime Kilns	7	140	20.00
Laboratory	5	125	25.00
Bakers	6	120	20.00
Ashery	5	100	20.00
Potters	5	85	17.00
Glue Factory	2	60	30.00
Rope Maker	3	60	20.00
Saleratus	3	60	20.00
Fanning Mill Factory	2	50	25.00
Hatter	2	50	25.00
Sash Factory	2	50	25.00
Shingle Factory	2	50	25.00
Last Factory	1	30	30.00
	399	$9,454	

* Total monthly wages paid included:
Boots & Shoes, 5 women; Total Mo. Wage, $45; Av. Wage, $9.
Tailors, 2 women; Total Mo. Wage, $16; Av. Wage, $8.
Oil Mill and Woolen Factory, 4 women; Total Mo. Wage, $32; Av. Wage, $8.

The annual value of industrial products ranged from $163,000 in the flouring mill industry to $600 in the last manufacturing industry. Seven types of industry had annual products valued at more than $20,000, while twelve types of industry had annual products valued at less than $5,000.[51] For individual firms, S. H. Dudley and Company's distillery led the field with products valued at $50,000; at the bottom was the last factory of L. D. Toll with products valued at $600.

As far as the value of individual items is concerned, one can glean only a few examples from the census statistics, for in most cases only the value of the manufactured product is given and the quantity is not. Where both quantity and value are given in the original census returns for 1850, the following prices prevailed: lumber was valued at $7.29 per 1,000 feet; barrels, $.80 each; tanned sides of leather, $2.57; ton of pot and pearl ash, $100; pair of boots or shoes, from $1.11 to $1.50; beer, $5.00 per barrel; cloth, $.75 per yard; shingles, $1.50 per thousand; lasts, $.20 each; lime, $.67 to $6.40 per barrel; flour, $4.00 per barrel; fanning mill, $20 each; bricks, $4.00 per thousand; and glue, $.13 per pound.

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[51] See table on page 78.

Summing up the decade of the Forties, one must concludes that it was a decade that saw considerable industrial development in Fort Wayne and vicinity. Fort Wayne by 1850 clearly had become the industrial center of Allen County.

The reasons for industrial growth during the decade were to be found in increased population, expanded agricultural activity, the completion of the Wabash-Erie Canal, and the improvement of various roads leading to Fort Wayne.

Manufacturing during the decade kept pace with the growth of population, which in Allen County showed an increase of 185% during the ten-year period. In the same period the amount of capital invested in manufacturing in Allen County showed an increase of 343%, and of the total amount invested in the county in 1850, Wayne Township claimed 81% or $242,500. The total value of industrial products in 1850 for the entire county was $701,300; Wayne Township had 78.5% of this total figure or $550,850.

Other figures of interest for Wayne Township in 1850 included: the number of individual firms, 93; number of workers employed, 309 men and 11 women; value of raw materials $289,740; and an annual payroll of $113,448.

It is important to notice that of the ninety-three individual manufacturing firms listed in the census returns for Wayne Township in 1850, sixty-six were still operating by hand power. Of the remaining number, ten were using steam power; nine, water power; and eight, horse power. The great use of hand power gives one considerable insight concerning the industrial picture in 1850. Obviously most of the individual manufacturing concerns were still simple shops in which skilled craftsmen produced finished products by hand.

Steam, to be sure, was gaining favor during the period. This development is of major importance because it did give promise of extensive use of power-driven machinery which eventually would help change the craft era into the factory age.

Water power, supplied by the canal principally, was also of significant importance during the Forties. Among the concerns using water power was the woolen mill of Rudisill and Wolke, and it is at this point that something at least resembling a true factory made its appearance in Fort Wayne. This mill, with its power-driven machinery, housed in a single unit, requiring some degree of specialization of labor, was a modest beginning of the real factory type of organization.

From the Forties on, the application of water and steam to the industrial process was to assume greater proportions.

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, 1850-1860

The industrial progress of Fort Wayne and vicinity, which had picked up in tempo during the decade of the Forties, continued to show important gains during the Fifties. Probably the three factors most influencing industrial expansion during this decade were: the increasing population of Allen County, the growing magnitude of agricultural production, and the coming of the railroads.

The population of Allen County increased from 16,919 in 1850 to 29,243 in 1860. By 1860 the only county in Indiana exceeding Allen County in population was Marion County with a population of 39,030.[1] In 1860 Wayne Township had a population of 10,388, and by checking the smallest and largest remaining townships of Allen County (Jackson, 93; Adams, 1,773), it is possible to estimate that the population of Fort Wayne by 1860 had risen to some 9,000 persons.[2] As during the Forties, population increase exerted its influence

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[1] Compendium of the Seventh Census, Table CXXXVI, 132-133; Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Etc. (Washington, D. C., 1864), 107-108.

[2] Population of the United States in 1860, 113.

on industrial growth by expanding the local market and by providing the skilled craftsmen who would make it possible for new industrial enterprises to be established during the Fifties.

That the agricultural development of the county was keeping pace with the increase in population is amply borne out by the agricultural statistics for 1860. In 1850 the value of the 1,300 farms in Allen County with improvements and implements was $1,722,980.[3] By 1860 the number of farms had increased to 2,498 and the value to $5,270,388. Farm implements and machinery were in 1860 valued at $107,248 and live stock at $617,836. Of these 2,498 farms, 49 were between 3 and 10 acres; 251 between 10 and 20 acres; 1,449 between 20 and 50 acres; 590 between 50 and 100 acres; 158 between 100 and 500 acres; and 1 over 1000 acres.[4]

By 1860 the farmers of Allen County were producing 223,892 bushels of wheat, 14,238 bushels of rye, 652,235 bushels of Indian corn, 124,068 bushels of oats, 4,010 pounds of tobacco, 40,341 pounds of wool, 270 bushels of peas and beans, 155,029 bushels of Irish potatoes, 683 bushels of sweet potatoes, 1,397 bushels

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[3] Compendium of the Seventh Census, 226.

[4] Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Etc. (Washington, D. C., 1864), 38-39, 198.

of barley, 16,626 bushels of buckwheat, 406,994 pounds of butter, 6,944 pounds of cheese, 17,286 tons of hay, 2,186 bushels of clover seed, 65 bushels of flaxseed, 53 pounds of flax, 34,477 pounds of maple sugar, 1,640 gallons of maple molasses, 8,620 gallons of sorghum molasses, 1,952 pounds of beeswax, 28,128 pounds of honey, and slaughtered animals to the value of $166,407.[5]

By and large these figures show a tremendous increase in agricultural activity in Allen County during the 1850's.[6] To understand the affect that increased agricultural activity had on industry during the Fifties, one must keep in mind that industry during this formative period was very closely tied to agriculture, in that a large portion of the raw materials needed for industry came directly from the farm. Without this increase in farm products in Allen County during the Fifties, such industries as grist milling and woolen manufacturing, to name only two, would have been greatly hampered.

It is interesting to note, too, that in 1850, articles manufactured in the home for family use in Allen County were valued at $6,341,[7] and that in 1860

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[5] Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 39-41.

[6] For the 1850 figures see supra, 46.

[7] Compendium of the Seventh Census, 226.

these products of the home were valued slightly less, $6,113.[8] These figures are significant because they seem to show that the farmers of Allen County, in spite of numerical increase and greater activity, were depending more and more on the products of Fort Wayne industry to fill their needs.

The third factor influencing industry in the Fifties was the coming of the railroads to Fort Wayne. These railroads of the Fifties greatly extended the foreign market already opened by the canal, and so great were their advantages to shippers of all types that their coming sounded the death knell for the grand waterway that enthusiastic backers had predicted would be in use for centuries.

As early as 1847, Jesse L. Williams, then Chief Engineer of the Wabash-Erie Canal, began to urge the construction of a railroad to Chicago. Williams' dream began to be fulfilled when, on July 4, 1849, ground was broken at the boundary line between Ohio and Pennsylvania for the construction of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad. The western terminus of this road was set at Crestline, Ohio, because interested citizens, including

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[8] Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 41.

Fort Wayne men, had suggested the formation of a separate corporation or corporation to construct the western end of the line. Thus came into being the Ohio and Indiana Railroad, the company being formed in 1850 with Allen County as a stockholder.[9]

In 1852, judge Samuel Hanna, Pliney Hoagland, and William Mitchell took the whole contract from Crestline, Ohio, to Fort Wayne, a distance of 132 miles. The company was greatly embarrassed because of lack of funds, but largely through the efforts of Samuel Hanna, who soon became the company's president, financial difficulties were overcome, and in November, 1854, "the cars from Pittsburg and Philadelphia came rolling into Fort Wayne, waking the echoes of the wilderness as they came, ..."[10]

Previously in the fall of 1852, the Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad was organized, and again largely through the efforts of Hanna, who was also the president of this company, cars were running to Columbia City by 1856. Then in August, 1856, the Ohio and Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, and Fort Wayne and Chicago corporations were consolidated into the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company. This consolidated corporation

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[9] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 408-409.

[10] Wood, Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna, 25-26.

subsequently pushed the road through to Chicago.[11]

The other railroad reaching Fort Wayne during the Fifties was the Lake Erie, Wabash, and St. Louis Railway, later called the Toledo, Wabash, and Western, and still later simply the Wabash. The construction of this road was begun in Ohio in 1854, and the line passing through Fort Wayne was completed to Lafayette, Indiana, in 1856.[12]

These railroads not only increased the transportational facilities serving Fort Wayne industry, but also, by the establishment of extensive railroad shops in the city, contributed materially to its industrial development. For although railroad industry did not figure prominently in Fort Wayne until the decade of the Sixties, the growth in such industry by the early Seventies had been phenomenal. By 1871, for instance, the shops of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, which had been established in 1857, were paying out $300,000 per month for wages and raw materials. These shops were using 19,000,000 feet of lumber per month, with all other materials necessary for the manufacture of freight and passenger cars. Fifty passenger cars, including the Pullamn Palace Coach, were turned out per

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[11] Wood, Life and Character of Hon. Samuel Hanna,

[12] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 120; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 433.

year and sixty freight cars per month.[13]

The shops of the Toledo, Wabash, and Western, built and put into operation in 1860-1861, were also extensive in 1871, employing between 300 and 400 men with an annual payroll of $375,000, and an annual expenditure for raw materials of about $2,000,000.[14]

By 1871 five railroad lines ran into Fort Wayne, namely, the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago; the Toledo, Wabash, and Western; the Indiana and Grand Rapids; and Muncie and Cincinnati; and the Jackson and Saginaw.[15]

V. S. Clark in showing the relation of population and railway mileage to the value of manufactures produced in shops and factories and in households has pointed out that as population and railway mileage increased in Indiana between 1850 and 1860 the per capita value of items manufactured in the home decreased from $1.65 in

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[13]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Tuesday, June 6, 1871), XI, No. 120, p. 1; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 446.

[14]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Tuesday, June 6, 1871), XI, No. 120, p. 1; Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 120.

[15]Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Monday, November 27, 1871), XI, No. 267, p. 4.

1850 to $.73 in 1860.[16] Thus one can see something of the immediate affect of population increase and railroad construction on industrial activity during the Fifties.

Having now set the stage for industrial development during the 1850's, it might be worthwhile to notice a few of the actors who took part in this drama of industry during the period and to gain some knowledge of the enterprises in which they engaged.

First mention might be given to A. S. Jerman who came to Fort Wayne in 1851 from Troy, New York, and entered business as a dyer on the corner of Calhoun and Berry streets. Jerman continued in this business until his death in 1874.[17]

In January, 1852, Adam D. Ried came to Fort Wayne and began, in a small way, the manufacture of steel plows. After several changes of location, this industry finally located, in 1857, at the southwest corner of Main and Maiden Lane in a two-story building.[18] In 1860 this business employed three men and was manufacturing

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[16] V. S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications (Washington, D. C., 1903-), No. 215b, I (1916), Appendix XII, 622.

[17] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 114.

[18] Ibid., 113.

plows to the value of $4,000 per year.[19] By 1872 additional buildings had been added and the industry used fifteen fires (forges), one steam hammer, three perpendicular drill presses, one band saw, two emery wheels, two emery bands, one oven, one shaping machine, one boring machine, one special hand planing machine, one forty-horse-power engine, and was employing between forty and fifty men.[20]

John H. Bass also came to Fort Wayne in 1852 and found employment in the foundry and machine shops of Jones, Bass, and Company, in which firm his elder brother, Sion S. Bass, was a partner. The younger Bass worked as a bookkeeper in his brother's firm for about three years. In 1857, Jones, Bass, and Company sold their foundry and machine shops, which were located on the line of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, to the railway company. These shops formed the nucleus for the immense Pennsylvania Railroad shops of a later day.

In September, 1857, Sion S. Bass and William H. Jones formed the partnership of Jones and Bass and established a new foundry and machine shop on the lines

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[19] Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, for Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana (hereinafter referred to as Original returns of the Eighth Census).

[20] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113.

of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad and the Toledo, Wabash and Western Railway. In the following year, John H. Bass and Edward Force formed a partnership and leased the plant. In 1859 this partnership was dissolved and the business sold to the Fort Wayne Machine Works of which John Bass soon became part owner and by 1869 sole owner.[21] The Fort Wayne Machine works was one of the largest manufacturing concerns of Fort Wayne by 1860, producing $30,000 worth of machines and engines annually and giving employment to thirty-one men.[22]

This concern continued to grow and in 1871 the Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel in describing the enterprise stated:

> The Fort Wayne Machine, Car Wheel and Boiler Works of J. H. Bass, are the largest and most worthy of note. The Machine shop is 44 by 116; blacksmith shop 44 by 30; foundry, 65 by 120; car wheel shops, 60 by 200; boiler shop 50 by 120, and woor-working shop 50 by 120. These are built of brick, to which are added the Excelsior Agriculture Works. Mr. J. H. Bass gives employment to over 300 men, with a monthly expenditure for materials and labor of at least $100,000. This is the largest manufactory of car wheels in the United States.[23]

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[21] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 416-417, 446-447.

[22] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[23] Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (Tuesday, June 6, 1871), XI, No. 120, 1.

Another important industry which began operation in the Fifties was the manufacture of artificial gas. At a meeting in 1853 in Cole ick's Hall, the matter of establishing an artificial gas works was first considered. A franchise was granted to the Fort Wayne Gas Light Company but was allowed to expire before any action was taken. In 1855 a similar franchise was secured and in addition the gas rate was established at $5.00 per 1,000 cubic feet. The Fort Wayne Gas Light Company was incorporated on March 6, 1855, with a capital investment of $65,000, later increased to $225,000. The plant was built on the north end of Barr street. The franchise called for the lighting of houses originally, but by 1857 it had been extended to provide for lighting the streets of the city.[24] By 1860 this firm was producing burning gas valued at $10,500 and other articles valued at $800.[25]

Henry Frederick William Meyer, in 1853, became a partner in the drug firm of Wall and Meyer. From this small beginning was later to emerge the great drug firm of Meyer Brothers and Company.[26] By 1860 Meyer and Company was producing compounds valued at $8,000 and giving employment to five men.[27]

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[24] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 422-424, 426.

[25] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[26] Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 152-153.

[27] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

Still another firm getting a start in 1853 was that of Conrad Neireiter who established a harness and saddlery business. Neireiter followed this line of business for about seventeen years.[28] By 1860 Neireiter was the largest manufacturer of harness and saddles in Fort Wayne using annually 20,000 pounds of leather and other articles valued at $5,500, employing eight men, and producing products valued at $10,000.[29]

In 1853-1854 a man by the name of Phenning built a brewery on the east side of Harrison street north of Wayne. Phenning continued in the brewing business until his death in 1860. In that year George Horning rented the business from the new owner, George Maier, and in 1862 purchased the establishment. Horning subsequently moved the brewery to the north side of Main street west of Van Buren where he was still producing beer in 1889.[30] By 1860 Horning was brewing 250 barrels of beer annually valued at $1,200.[31]

Also in 1853, George Little and Hugh McCulloch built elevators on the north side of Pearl street east

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[28] Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 189.

[29] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[30] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 114.

[31] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

of Maiden Lane. They subsequently fitted this building for a grist mill and operated the works by steam. This was the first steam flouring mill built within the city. In 1855 the firm of William T. Platt and Company purchased the mill and ran it until 1859 at which time they sold it to John Brown, the stone cutter. The mill, under various owners, continued to operate until it burned down in 1869.[32] In 1860 it was one of the largest in operation in the county, using raw materials valued at $78,200 and producing 15,500 barrels of flour valued at $80,000 and meal to the value of $5,000. The mill was at that time employing six men.[33]

John Fremion in 1853 started a brick yard north of the city, and in the same year William S. Smith, gunsmith, and Frank B. Vogel, tailor, moved to Fort Wayne.[34]

The first establishment in Indiana for the manufacture of Drainage tile was put into operation by Samuel Lillie in either 1853 or 1854. Lillie, who had previously been a successful earthen-ware manufacturer had approached the tile-making enterprise with some misgivings, but when I. D. G. Nelson promised to furnish the money and to accept

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[32]Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117.

[33]Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[34]Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 430.

payment in tile, Lillie pushed forward with energy. Nelson had previously experimented with underdraining by using planks, timbers, etc.[35] This tile mill and the others that followed it were of great importance to the expansion of agriculture in Allen County. Farmers were now able to work more successfully land already under cultivation and to reclaim land that previously had been too wet to work at all. Lillie was producing $4,000 worth of tile annually by 1860.[36]

The boot and shoe industry was enlarged in 1854 when Christian Schiefer and E. Vordermark formed a partnership for the manufacture of these articles. Schiefer was still operating the business in 1889.[37] By 1860 this firm was annually manufacturing boots and shoes valued at $8,000.[38]

Among those coming to Fort Wayne in 1854 were: Hiram Poyser, contractor and railway coach builder; Soloman Bash, miller; Capt. James B. White, manufacturer; Jacob Klett, lumber manufacturer; and Kerr Murray who

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[35] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 122.

[36] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[37] Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 49.

[38] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

subsequently founded the gas machinery plant of the Kerr Murray Manufacturing Company.[39]

In 1855-1856 a Mr. Baker and B. W. Oakley engaged in a partnership to conduct a plumbing and brass works business which they located on Columbia street. In 1856 Alfred Hattersley succeeded to this business and soon removed the shop to the south side of Main street between Barr and Clinton where he installed a steam engine and other necessary machinery. This business continued to grow in succeeding years and by 1889 was giving employment to several men.[40]

Residents new to Fort Wayne in 1855 were Frederick J. Thieme, who by 1860 was extensively engaged in the clothing manufacturing business; Dr. Isaac Knapp, dentist; and Christian Gumpper, baker.[41]

The year 1855-1856 saw Herman Nierman establish a brewery at the corner of Harrison and West Superior streets.[42] By 1860 this brewery was producing 2,000

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[39] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 430.

[40] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 437.

[41] Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 437

[42] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 114; Griswold, Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, I, 437

barrels of beer annually with a value of $13,000. This was more beer than was being produced by all of the other breweries of Wayne Township put together.[43]

It was also in 1856 that A. J. Mershon started a stone and marble works on the north side of Main street immediately east of Cass. Mershon soon sold out to P. S. Underhill and members of the Underhill family continued in partial or sole ownership up to 1889.[44] This stone and marble works was turning out monuments and tomb stones to the value of $10,000 per year by 1860.[45]

Comparet, Hubbell and Company, a firm previously engaged in the forwarding and commission business, erected in 1857 a three-story brick building to house a steam grist mill.[46] Three years later, this mill, operated by a forty-horse steam engine, was turning out 13,000 barrels of flour and 10,000 bushels of meal with a combined value of $71,000.[47] When this mill burned in 1861, David Comparet erected a larger mill on the same site. But in 1872 this second mill was also destroyed by fire and

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[43] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[44] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 113-114.

[45] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

[46] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117

[47] Original returns of the Eighth Census.

the business of milling was not resumed.[48]

It was also in 1857 that a carriage manufactory was started which later came to be called the City Carriage Works. The original partners seem to be unknown and about all one can establish with certainity is that in 1880 this business, then under the firm name of Dudenhoefer, Daniels, and Company, was still manufacturing carriages, buggies, and sleighs.[49]

An overview of the manufacturing interests of Fort Wayne in 1858 is to be found in Fort Wayne's first city directory which made its appearance in that year. According to this directory there were in Fort Wayne in 1858: 6 bakeries, 1 basket manufactory, 15 blacksmith shops, 1 boiler yard, 2 bookbinding concerns, 17 boot and shoe factories, 1 brass foundry, 4 breweries, 4 cabinet shops, 2 candy manufacturers, 1 carpet-weaving establishment, 3 carriage factories, 3 cigar and tobacco manufactories, 8 clothing manufactories, 3 confection shops, 5 cooperies, 2 dental offices, 1 dye house, 2 flooring and planing mills, 3 flour mills, 1 gas company, 1 gun shop, 3 hatteries, 2 iron foundries, 2 lime kilns, 1 marble

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[48] Kingman Brothers, pub., History of Allen County, 117; Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 25-26.

[49] Robertson, Valley of the Upper Maumee River, II, 131.

works, 3 millinery shops, 1 picture frame manufactory, 3 plow manufactories, 1 pottery manufactory, 5 printers, 4 saddle and harness shops, 4 sash, blind, and door shops, 2 sawmills, 1 sleigh manufactory, 1 soap and candle shop, 3 stone works, 4 tailor shops, 1 tannery, 5 tin, copper, and sheet iron manufactories, 1 vinegar establishment, 9 wagon manufactories, and 1 woolen factory.[50]

A similar picture of industry is given two years later in the city directory for 1860-1861. No very striking changes are to be noted in industry during the two-year period and perhaps it is only necessary to point out that the loss in number of establishments sustained by one type of industry seem to have been balanced by the addition of new firms to another type of industry.[51]

The hard times of 1857 apparently had little affect on Fort Wayne industry. By making use of the census returns for 1850, the city directory for 1858, and the census returns for 1860, it is possible to show a rather uniform rate of industrial development during this ten-year period. There were 93 individual industrial firms

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[50] Williams' Fort Wayne Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror, Compiled by C. S. Williams (Fort Wayne, 1858), I, 112-119.

[51] The Ft. Wayne City & Business Directory and City Guide, For 1860-61, Prepared by Wm. H. H. Hull (Fort Wayne, 1860), 97-101.

in Wayne Township in 1850, most of which were in Fort Wayne. The city directory for 1858 lists 143 individual industrial firms; and the census returns for 1860 list 155. Thus, approximately six firms, on the average, were added each year between 1850 and 1858. Apparently, about the same number was added in each of the years between 1858 and 1860. These figures would tend to show that the Panic of 1857 was probably of little consequence in Fort Wayne.

Looking at the decade of the Fifties as a whole, one must conclude that the three factors most influencing industrial expansion were the increasing population of Allen County, the growing magnitude of agricultural production, and the coming of the railroads.

The population of Allen County increased from 16,919 in 1850 to 29,243 in 1860. Population growth exerted its influence on industrial growth by expanding the local market and by providing the skilled craftsmen who would establish new industries during the Fifties.

During this decade industry was still closely allied to agriculture in that the farms of Allen County continued to provide most of the raw materials necessary for industrial production. There is also evidence to show that the farmers of Allen County were devoting less of their time to home industry during this decade and were depending more and more on the industrial production of Fort Wayne

to fill their needs.

The Fifties also saw Fort Wayne expand its transportational facilities with the coming of the railroad. The railroads of this period were important to industry in two respects, namely, they extended the foreign market previously opened by the canal, and at the very close of the decade railroad shops were established that, during the Sixties, greatly added to the magnitude of Fort Wayne industry.

The period, then, was one of expanding industrial activity, and of special significance is the fact that some of the individual firms founded in the Fifties continued to operate and grow in succeeding decades, assuming an energetic role among the great industrial firms of the Mid-West.

CHAPTER VI

THE INDUSTRIAL PICTURE IN 1860

The number and kinds of industrial establishments in Fort Wayne and Wayne Township producing articles valued at more than $500 in 1860 are exhibited in the table on page 105.

Heading the list with the greatest number of individual establishments were the makers of boots and shoes with thirteen. On the other hand, sixteen types of industry had only one establishment each.

That Wayne Township, including Fort Wayne, was the industrial center of Allen County in 1860 becomes perfectly clear when one compares the census statistics for Wayne Township with those for Allen County as a whole. In 1860 Allen County has 203 manufacturing establishments producing annual products valued at more than $500; Wayne Township had 155. Capital invested in industry in Allen County was $468,535; in Wayne Township, $432,450. Men employed in industry in Allen County, 1,045; in Wayne Township, 916. Other figures for Allen County and Wayne Township respectively include: annual cost of labor, $307,553 and $300,576; and annual value of products, $4,380,888 and $1,334,105.[1]

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[1] Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1865), 114; Original returns of the Eighth Census.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES RANKED ACCORDING TO CAPITAL INVESTED

Type of Industry	Number of Firms	Capital Invested
Flouring Milling	5	$81,000
Gas factory	1	68,900
Clothing Manufacturing	10	39,500
Boot and Shoe Manufacturing	13	34,500
Machine Manufacturing	2	24,000
Saw Milling	7	22,600
Printing	6	13,000
Planing Mill	2	12,000
Laboratory	5	10,500
Cabinet Making	6	9,600
Woolen Manufacturing	1	9,000
Tanning	2	8,000
Brick Making	6	7,400
Blacksmithing	7	7,200
Wagon Making	7	7,200
Lime Kilns	3	6,500
Brewing	5	6,400
Chandlery etc.	1	6,000
Sash factory	3	5,900
Saddlery etc.	4	5,500
Joiner	11	4,800
Stone Cutting	2	4,500
Tinning	7	4,500
Candy Making	1	4,000
Baking	7	3,900
Coopering	4	3,100
Tobacconist	3	2,900
Foundry works	1	2,500
Hatter	2	2,500
Hoop Making	1	2,000
Plow Manufacturing	1	2,000
Carriage Manufacturing	2	1,800
Boat Manufacturing	2	1,250
Distilling	1	1,000
Dress Making	1	1,000
Photographer shop	1	1,000
Saleratus Manufacturing	1	1,000
Brick Masonry	2	900
Dentistry	2	800
Book Binding	2	500
File Cutting	1	500
Shingle Manufacturing	1	500
Frame Making	1	300
Rope Making	1	300
Vinegar Manufacturing	1	200
TOTAL	155	$432,450

Compared with other counties in the state in 1860, Allen ranked second in number of industrial establishments, eleventh in capital invested, eighth in value of raw materials, third in number of male workers employed, tenth in number of females employed, fourth in annual cost of labor, and eighth in annual value of industrial products.[2]

The amount of capital invested in various types of industries in Wayne Township in 1860 ranged from a total of $81,000 in the flour milling industry to $200 in a vinegar manufacturing concern. Twelve categories of industry had a capital investment of $1,000 or less; four types of industry lay between $1,001 and $2,000; three between $2,001 and $3,000; three between $3,001 and $4,000; three between $4,001 and $5,000; eleven between $5,001 and $10,000; and nine above $10,000.[3]

The largest amount of capital invested in any one concern was $68,900 invested in the Fort Wayne Gas Company. The flouring mills of David Camparet and Pliney Hoagland came next with respective investments of $30,000 and $25,000. A total of seven firms were capitalized at $10,000 or more. On the other hand, eight establishments had each only $300 invested, and five individual firms

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[2] Manufacturers of the United States in 1860, etc., 142-143.

[3] See table page 105.

were operating on capital valued at $200.

As far as the whole of raw materials used was concerned, the flouring mill industry led the field in 1860 as it had in 1850 with raw materials including fuel valued at $366,525. Other important users of raw materials included the following industries: boots and shoes, $55,000; colthing, $55,950; machine manufacturing, $23,480; woolen manufacturing, $22,500; and brick masonry, $21,525. At the bottom of the scale, as to the type of industry, was the single vinegar mill using raw materials valued at $300.[4] For individual enterprises the two extremes were $94,625 for the flouring mill of Pliney Hoagland and $100 per for Rahouser's (?) printing shop. The total value of raw materials used in all industries in Wayne Township in 1860 was $782,205.

Mention of the types of motive power used in industry in Wayne Township in 1860 is also of considerable interest. Of the one hundred and fifty-five individual industrial concerns listed in the census, one hundred and seventeen were operated by hand, eleven by a combination of horse and hand power, seven by water power, and nineteen by steam. Obviously industry of Fort Wayne and vicinity in 1860 was still dependent, for the most part, on the services of skilled craftsmen who plied their respective trades without benefit of power-driven machinery. Prominent

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[4] See table on page 111.

among the industries that operated entirely by hand power were the coopering, boat building, wagon making, boot and shoe, blacksmithing, printing, joining, baking, and clothing industries, to name only a few. The two types of industry operating by a combination of horse and hand power were brick making and cabinet making. Water power was used for two saw mills, three flouring mills, one sash factory, and the one woolen factory. Steam was utilized in five saw mills, two flouring mills, two machine shops, one foundry, one brewery, one chandlery, one stone cutting establishment, two sash factories, one planing mill, one hoop manufactory, one shingle factory, and two tanneries.

The average number of male workers employed in industry in 1860 was 916. There were eleven females working in industry in 1860 and their work was limited to three individual firms, namely, the boot and shoe establishment of John Mohre, employing three women; the dressmaking shop of Elizabeth Sulley, employing three; and the woolen factory of H. Rudisill & Son, employing five. The average monthly wage for men was $27.34, and for women, $19.45. The industry paying the highest average monthly wage for males was the tinning industry at $34.19 per month;[5]

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[5] It is true that dentistry and photography paid average monthly wages of $66.67 and $40.00 respectively, but obviously such industrial workers, as the census chose to classify them, were really professional men and their wages cannot be thought of as being typical.

for female labor the woolen industry at $24.40 per month.

The boot and shoe industry, employing ninety-six men and three women, led with the largest average monthly payroll, $2,847. The single frame making concern, Mettler & Company, employing two men, was the type of industry having the lowest average monthly payroll, $40. The total average monthly payroll in Wayne Township for 1860 was $25,048.

Five types of industry gave employment to over fifty men. The boot and shoe industry stood at the top with ninety-six men employed. Following this industry in order of number of men employed were: clothing, 82; brick making, 81; cabinet making, 70; and joiners, 52. At the other extreme, there were twenty-one types of industry employing less than ten men.[6]

The annual value of industrial products ranged from $401,000 in the flouring mill industry to $1,500 for frame making.[7] Leading the field for individual firms was the flouring mill of Pliney Hoagland producing annual products valued at $103,000. The total value of industrial products for Wayne Township in 1860 was $1,334,105.

In cases where both the quantity and the annual value of the industrial product are given in the original census returns for 1860, one is able to gain some idea of the prevailing price of specific manufactured items. Lumber

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[6] See table on page 110.

[7] See table on page 111.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES IN 1860 RANKED ACCORDING TO AVERAGE TOTAL MONTHLY WAGES PAID

Type	Average Number of Men Employed	Average Total Monthly Wages	Average Male Wage Per Month
Boots & Shoes	96	$ 2,847*	$29.22
Cabinet Making	70	2,152	30.74
Clothing	82	2,025	24.70
Joiners	52	1,516	29.15
Tinning	31	1,060	34.19
Saw Mills	36	1,051	29.19
Flouring Mills	29	966	33.31
Machine Manu.	41	953	23.24
Brick Making	81	945	11.66
Saddleries, etc.	26	820	31.54
Coopering	26	780	30.00
Wagon Making	25	760	30.40
Printing	27	695	25.74
Woolen Manu.	18	657*	29.72
Brick Masonry	21	652	31.05
Bakeries	24	645	26.88
Blacksmithing	21	569	27.09
Planing Mills	19	562	29.58
Laboratories	19	555	29.21
Sash Manu.	17	492	28.94
Stone Cutting	16	470	29.38
Tanning	18	450	25.00
Breweries	15	382	25.47
Carriage Manu.	9	262	29.11
Hoop Manu.	10	250	25.00
Foundries	9	230	25.56
Lime Manu.	9	225	25.00
Tobacco Manu.	9	225	25.00
Dentistry	3	200	66.67
Gas Manu.	8	200	25.00
Boat Making	6	170	28.33
Shingle Manu.	4	130	32.50
Dressmaking	3	125*	25.00
Chandlery, etc.	4	122	30.50
Bookbinding	4	120	30.00
Hat Manu.	4	110	27.50
Candy Manu.	3	100	33.33
File Manu.	3	90	30.00
Plow Manu.	3	90	30.00
Photography	2	80	40.00
Distilling	3	75	25.00
Saleratus Manu.	3	75	25.00
Rope Manu.	3	60	20.00
Vinegar Manu.	2	50	25.00
Frame Manu.	2	40	20.00
	916	$25,048	

*Total monthly wages paid included:
Boots & Shoes, 3 women; Total Mo. Wage, $42; Av. Mo. Wage, $14.
Woolen Manu., 5 women; Total Mo. Wage, $122; Ave. Mo. Wage, $24.40.
Dressmaking, 3 women; Total Mo. Wage, $50; Av. Mo. Wage, $16.67.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES IN 1860 RANKED ACCORDING TO ANNUAL VALUE OF PRODUCT

Type	Value of Raw Materials	Average Monthly Wage	Annual Value of Products
Flouring Mills	$366,525	$ 966	$ 401,000
Boots & Shoes	55,000	2,847	103,500
Clothing	55,950	2,025	90,750
Machine Manu.	23,480	953	81,800
Cabinet Making	12,600	2,152	49,500
Saw Mills	18,000	1,051	46,000
Planing Mills	16,870	562	39,000
Joiners	13,275	1,516	37,500
Brick Making	10,280	945	34,250
Tinning	17,000	1,060	33,900
Woolen Manu.	22,500	657	33,000
Brick Masonry	21,525	652	31,000
Laboratories	8,500	555	31,000
Saddleries, etc.	17,700	820	30,000
Tanning	9,900	450	27,000
Bakeries	8,675	645	22,700
Sash Manu.	4,900	492	20,150
Stone Cutting	6,300	470	16,500
Breweries	5,850	382	16,425
Printing	2,360	695	15,750
Wagon Making	4,475	760	15,330
Candy Manu.	12,500	100	15,000
Blacksmithing	3,925	560	12,900
Foundries	9,350	230	12,650
Coopering	3,950	780	12,000
Gas Manu.	4,400	200	11,300
Lime Manu.	5,225	225	10,500
Hoop Making	5,000	250	9,000
Chandlery, etc.	5,600	122	8,500
Tobacco Manu.	4,275	225	7,800
Saleratus Manu.	6,090	75	7,500
Distilling	5,500	75	7,300
Carriage Manu.	1,900	262	7,000
Dressmaking	2,500	125	5,000
Dentistry	675	200	4,500
Boat Making	1,650	170	4,100
Hat Manu.	1,100	110	4,000
Plow Manu.	1,000	90	4,000
Photography	2,000	80	3,300
Shingle Manu.	500	130	3,000
Rope Manu.	1,000	75	2,000
Bookbinding	700	120	1,800
File Manu.	600	90	1,800
Vinegar Manu.	300	50	1,600
Frame Manu.	800	40	1,500
TOTAL	$782,205	$28,048	$1,334,105

was valued at $10 per thousand feet; flour, between $5 and $6 a barrel; canal boat, $1,300 to $1,400 each; pressed brick, $12 per thousand; common brick, $3.50 or less per thousand; wagons, $78 each; iron castings per ton, $72.29; beer, from $5 to $6.50 per barrel; false teeth, $30 a set; newspapers, $.03 to $.04 the copy; flooring, $12 to $30 per thousand feet; box of candy, $3.75; lime, around $.75 per barrel; cigars, between $.02 and $.03 each; photograph, $1.65; vinegar, $4 per barrel; and burning gas, $3.50 per 1,000 cubic feet.

A comparison of the census figures for 1850 with those for 1860 points up quite vividly the relative industrial growth that occurred in Fort Wayne and vicinity during the decade. The statistics for 1850 and 1860 were:

	1850	1860
Types of Industry	34	45
Individual Firms	93	155
Capital Invested	$242,500	$432,450
Value of Raw Materials	$289,740	$782,205
Males Employed	399	916
Women Employed	5	5
Average Male Wage per Month	$ 23.46	$ 27.34
Average Female Wage per Month	$ 8.45	$ 19.45
Annual Value of Industrial Products	$550,850	$1,334,105

A more detailed analysis of the census figures for the different types of industries in 1850 and 1860 appear in the

tables given on pages 114 and 115. Here one can see how the increases in capital investment, etc., which occured during the decade were apportioned among the various types of industrial establishments. By and large the picture is one of general expansion in most types of industry with only a few exceptions to the general rule.

Between 1850 and 1860 six types of industry were discontinued, namely, asheries, fanning mill manufacturing, glue manufacturing, last manufacturing, pottery manufacturing, and tailoring. In place of the six that dropped out, seventeen new types had been added by 1860. They were: bookbinding, brick masonry, candy manufacturing, carriage making, clothing manufacturing, dentistry, dressmaking, file cutting, frame making, gas manufacturing, hoopmaking, machine manufacturing, photography, planing milling, plow manufacturing, tobacco manufacturing and vinegar manufacturing. Here again a general picture of industrial growth is evident.

In summing up an analysis of the census statistics for 1850 and 1860, one can draw the general conclusion that considerable progress was made in industry during the decade and that where individual types of industry suffered losses during the period, other types showed tremendous gains.

After analyzing the census statistics for 1850 and 1860, it becomes perfectly obvious that very little

COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIAL CENSUS STATISTICS FOR 1850 AND 1860 FOR WAYNE TOWNSHIP, ALLEN COUNTY, INDIANA, SHOWING TYPES OF INDUSTRY, NUMBER, CAPITAL INVESTED, AND VALUES OF RAW MATERIALS USED.*

	Number		Capital		Raw Materials	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Bakeries	2	7	$ 4,500	$ 3,900	$ 2,500	$ 8,675
Blacksmithing	8	7	3,600	7,200	1,650	3,925
Boat Making	2	2	2,500	1,250	2,000	1,650
Bookbinding	0	2	0	500	0	700
Boots and Shoes	6	13	28,500	34,500	18,880	55,000
Breweries	4	5	10,100	6,400	6,260	5,850
Brick Making	4	6	2,300	7,400	720	10,280
Brick Masonry	0	2	0	900	0	21,525
Cabinet Making	6	6	9,400	9,600	4,120	12,600
Candy Manu.	0	1	0	4,000	0	12,500
Carriage Making	0	2	0	1,800	0	1,900
Chandlery, etc.	1	1	2,500	6,000	1,120	5,600
Clothing Manu.	0	10	0	39,500	0	55,950
Coopering	5	4	2,450	2,100	2,110	3,950
Dentistry	0	2	0	800	0	675
Distilling	1	1	25,000	1,000	22,000	5,500
Dressmaking	0	1	0	1,000	0	2,500
File Cutting	0	1	0	500	0	600
Flouring Mills	3	5	45,000	81,000	146,500	366,525
Foundries	3	1	16,000	2,500	15,500	9,350
Frame Making	0	1	0	300	0	800
Gas Manu.	0	1	0	68,900	0	4,400
Hat. Manu.	1	2	1,200	2,500	500	1,100
Hoop Making	0	1	0	2,000	0	5,000
Joiners	8	11	4,100	4,800	2,700	13,475
Laboratory	1	5	2,000	10,500	1,500	8,500
Lime Manu.	2	3	4,000	6,500	2,400	5,225
Machine Manu.	0	2	0	24,000	0	23,480
Photography	0	1	0	1,000	0	2,000
Planing Mills	0	2	0	12,000	0	16,870
Plow Manu.	0	1	0	2,000	0	1,000
Printing	2	6	4,300	13,000	645	2,360
Rope Making	1	1	200	300	500	1,000
Saleraturs Manu.	1	1	1,500	1,000	6,090	6,090
Saddleries, etc.	4	4	5,000	5,500	2,620	17,700
Sash Manu.	1	3	1,000	5,900	150	4,900
Saw Mills	7	7	21,000	22,600	13,300	18,000
Shingle Manu.	1	1	300	500	300	500
Stone Cutting	1	2	1,600	4,500	840	6,300
Tanning	2	2	11,000	8,000	9,100	9,900
Tinning	2	7	4,500	4,500	6,500	17,000
Tobacco Manu.	0	3	0	2,900	0	4,275
Vinegar Manu.	0	1	0	200	0	300
Wagon Making	4	7	1,650	7,200	480	4,475
Woolen Manu.	1	1	14,500	9,000	10,000	22,500

*The six industries operating in 1850, but not in 1860, have not been included. The 1850 figures for these industries, namely, ashery, fanning mill, glue making, last making, pottery, and tailoring are included in the tables on pages 74, 78, and 80.

COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIAL CENSUS STATISTICS FOR 1850 AND 1860 FOR WAYNE TOWNSHIP, ALLEN COUNTY, INDIANA, SHOWING TYPES OF INDUSTRY, AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED, TOTAL AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES PAID, AND ANNUAL VALUE OF THE PRODUCT.*

	Men Employed		Total Mo. Wages		Annual Product	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Bakeries	6	24	$ 120	$ 645	$ 4,500	$ 22,700
Blacksmithing	16	21	370	569	8,000	12,900
Boat Making	22	6	425	170	9,500	4,100
Bookbinding	0	4	0	120	0	1,800
Boots and Shoes	45	96	1,070	2,847	46,000	103,500
Breweries	9	15	176	382	13,500	16,425
Brick Making	14	81	255	945	4,600	34,250
Brick Masonry	0	21	0	652	0	31,000
Cabinet Making	34	70	850	2,152	20,800	49,500
Candy Manu.	0	3	0	100	0	15,000
Carriage Making	0	9	0	262	0	7,000
Chandlery, etc.	6	4	150	122	4,500	8,500
Clothing Manu.	0	82	0	2,025	0	90,750
Coopering	25	26	520	780	11,100	12,000
Dentistry	0	3	0	200	0	4,500
Distilling	14	3	250	75	50,000	7,300
Dressmaking	0	3	0	125	0	5,000
File Cutting	0	3	0	90	0	1,800
Flouring Mills	14	29	420	966	163,000	401,000
Foundries	24	9	685	230	38,500	12,650
Frame Making	0	2	0	40	0	1,500
Gas Manu.	0	8	0	200	0	11,300
Hat Manu.	2	4	50	110	2,000	4,000
Hoop Making	0	10	0	250	0	9,000
Joiners	24	52	690	1,516	13,900	37,500
Laboratory	5	19	125	555	6,000	31,000
Lime Manu.	7	9	140	225	5,200	10,500
Machine Manu.	0	41	0	953	0	81,800
Photography	0	2	0	80	0	3,300
Planing Mills	0	19	0	562	0	39,000
Plowing Manu.	0	3	0	90	0	4,000
Printing	9	27	145	695	5,500	15,750
Rope Making	3	3	60	60	1,500	2,000
Saleratus Manu.	3	3	60	75	8,000	7,500
Saddleries, etc.	13	26	280	820	10,900	30,000
Sash Manu.	2	17	50	492	1,000	20,150
Saw Mills	29	36	705	1,051	35,400	46,000
Shingle Manu.	2	4	50	130	1,350	3,000
Stone Cutting	6	16	180	470	3,000	16,500
Tanning	12	18	280	450	18,000	27,000
Tinning	9	31	270	1,060	13,500	33,900
Tobacco Manu.	0	9	0	225	0	7,800
Vinegar Manu.	0	2	0	50	0	1,600
Wagon Making	10	25	285	780	5,400	15,350
Woolen Manu.	8	18	232	657	21,000	33,000

*The six industries operating in 1850, but not in 1860, have not been included. The 1850 figures for these industries, namely, ashery, fanning mill, glue making, last making, pottery, and tailoring are included in the tables on pages 74, 78, and 80.

resembling large-scale industrial concerns were founded in Fort Wayne before the Civil War. Most of the businesses were partnership concerns, operating on a small amount of capital, employing hand power, and reaping only a nominal return on investment and effort. It is true that the distillery of S. H. Dudley and Co., with a capital investment of $25,000 in 1850, was realizing a net return of $24,400 annually. But such returns were not the rule. The flouring mill industry in 1850, with a capital investment of $45,000, was realizing an annual net return of $11,460 after cost of raw materials and labor was deducted. Since this amount was shared by three concerns, the average annual net return for each mill was only $3,820. The average return to individual concerns in the boot and shoe industry was $2,380 in 1850.

By 1860 annual returns on investments continued to be comparatively small. In the flouring mill industry in 1860 the average annual return for each concern was $4,576.60, and the boot and shoe industry, $1,102.77.

By in large, it can be seen that the owners of the various firms in 1850 and in 1860 were realizing, in most cases, only a small annual return on their investment. Nevertheless, the owners of the individual firms were in general making more money per year than were the men whom they employed, since most of the yearly wages for workers ran in the neighborhood of from $200 to $360 in both 1850 and 1860.

A word might also be said about the organization of industry in Fort Wayne before 1860. Certainly there was little to remind one of the factory system of organization, at least in the technical sense of that term. As Clark points out there are certain qualifications an industry must have in order to be a real factory, namely, all industrial operations must be performed by powered machinery at a central plant, labor is specialized and organized by departments, wages are paid in cash, output is standardized, cost accounting is introduced and selling is systematized.[8] Certainly few of the industrial concerns of Fort Wayne by 1860 would meet these qualifications. The woolen factory of Henry Rudisill would probably have come closest to meeting real factory conditions.

For the most part industry in Fort Wayne during the entire period from 1815 to 1860 was made up of numerous shops, mills, etc., in which skilled or semi-skilled workmen plied their respective trades, all operations in most cases were performed by the same worker without benefit of power-driven machinery.

So it becomes apparent that industry throughout the period was simple in organization and that the modern factory system was to await the Post-Civil-War era.

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[8] V. S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications (Washington, D. C., 1903-), No. 215b, I (1916), 450.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSTION AND SUMMARY

If one were to summarize the growth of industry in Fort Wayne and vicinity from 1815 to 1860 in a few words, he would simply state that industrial development started slowly before 1820, picked up considerably in the Twenties and Thirties, forged ahead in the Forties, and reached its peak during the Fifties.

The reasons for greater industrial activity during the Forties and Fifties are to be found in increased population, expansion of agricultural activity, and improved transportational facilities made possible by the Wabash and Erie Canal, improved roads, and the coming of the railroads.

Population growth effected industry in two major ways during the period. In the first place, among the ranks of people who swelled the population of Allen County were to be found skilled workmen who entered into industrial enterprises once they had become settled. In the second place, as population increased, the local market for industrial products increased proportionately, a fact that had far-reaching effect on industrial development especially during the Forties and Fifties.

Certainly one cannot overlook the fact that during

the Thirties, Forties, and Fifties industry was very closely allied to agriculture. Had it not been for the great expansion of agricultural activity during these three decades, industry of Fort Wayne and vicinity would have been greatly hampered. For it was from the farm that industry acquired the major portion of the necessary raw materials and it was to the farm that a great portion of manufactured items found their way.

The Wabash and Erie Canal and the railroads opened up a foreign market to the products of Fort Wayne industry and in so doing raised the limits that population growth alone set on industrial expansion.

Although it is perfectly obvious that industry did make great strides during the years from 1815 to 1860, it is still true that viewed from any angle Fort Wayne industry in 1860 was still organized along very simple lines and one would hardly have forseen the complexity that industrial enterprises would show at a later date.

By and large these relatively simple industries were owned by one man or by two or more men operating under a partnership arrangement. Usually the amount of capital invested was small and in some cases the net profits going to each individual owner during the year were little more than the wages earned by one of the employees.

The factory system as that term is understood today was almost entirely lacking in Fort Wayne industry in 1860. Most of industry was carried on by skilled artisans who performed by hand every operation necessary to produce the finished product; but the application of steam and water power, particularly in the Forties and Fifties gave promise that the craft type of industry would eventually give way to the factory system. Probably the single woolen factory may have come nearest to being a real factory with its power driven machinery and a certain amount of specialization of labor.

Yet industry of Fort Wayne and vicinity with all of its simplicity was making important contributions to the economic welfare of Allen County especially in the Forties and Fifties. In 1850 industry in Wayne Township was expending $403,188 for raw materials and labor and by 1860, $1,082,781; most of this money went directly to residents of Allen County.

From the long-range point of view, the real importance of industrial activity during the period covered by this present work is to be found in the fact that industrial development before 1860 securely laid the foundation on which enterprising men later erected the structure of present-day Fort Wayne industry. Without the benefit of those small beginnings before 1860, the great industrial growth of later day would have been most difficult to achieve.

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Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, for Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana.

Photostatic copies of these industrial returns for 1850 and 1860 are in the author's possession. These census statistics made it possible to write a detailed account of industry as it existed in Fort Wayne in 1850 and in 1860 and permitted, through a comparison of these two sets of returns, a careful analysis of industrial growth in Fort Wayne during the decade of the Fifties.

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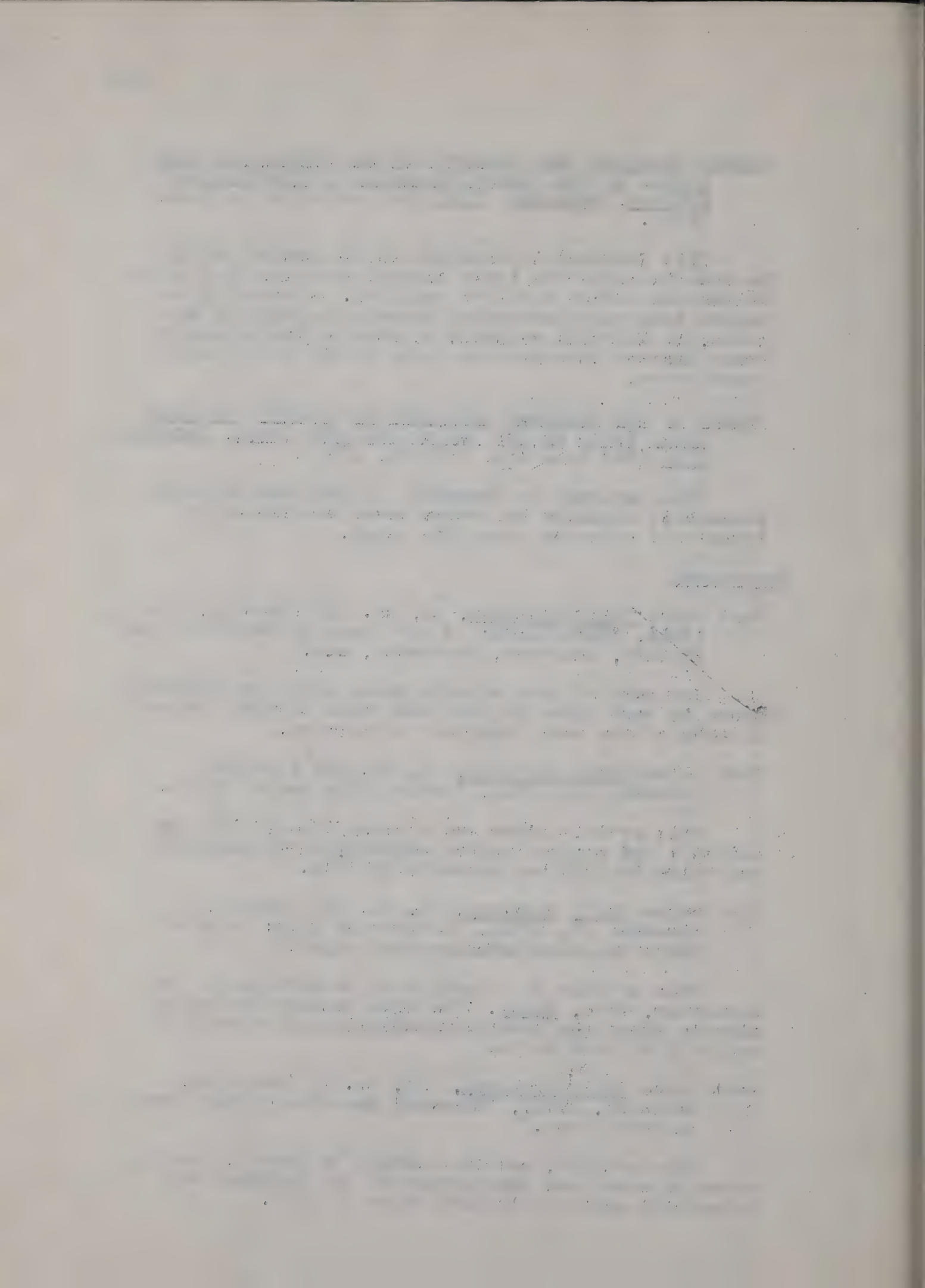

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